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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE CONCEPT OF THE INDIVIDUAL MAN
ACCORDING TO MARX, GORKY AND MAKARENKO
WITH EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

by

FLORENCE BORDEN SCOFFIELD

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SEPTEMBER 1963

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read,
and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for
acceptance, a thesis entitled 'The Concept of the In-
dividual Man, according to Marx, Gorky and Makarenko,
with Educational Implications', submitted by Florence
Borden Scoffield, in partial fulfilment of the require-
ments for the degree of Master of Education.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the concept of the individual man in his relation to society, as it is revealed in the works of Marx, Gorky and Makarenko. It was undertaken to ascertain the differences, if any, in the basic ideas of man's proper place in society as envisioned by these three authors, all of whom were convinced that Communism was the answer to the social and political problems of their day. An understanding of the importance attached by Soviet educators to the concept of the potentially ideal man in a communist society, as they train their young for citizenship in the U.S.S.R., may help towards a deeper comprehension of the place formal education should hold in democratic societies. The thesis deals with the biographies of Marx, Gorky and Makarenko as well as with their writings, since the historical events of their times which shaped their lives also formed the framework for their ideas.

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was brought up in a well-to-do family which had been recently converted to Christianity after a long tradition of Judaism. The "summum bonum" for the members of this family was a comfortable family life, free from financial worries and religious persecution, with liberty to pursue their special interests and develop their abilities as they wished. Early in his career as a student-philosopher Marx decided that man had within him the power to achieve the highest good that this world could offer. He did not believe that any metaphysical force existed outside man, except as such a force

might be understood to reside in the power of society to direct its own historical development. Somehow throughout the economic history of the world power had become concentrated in the hands of unscrupulous social groups and money-mad capitalist-industrialists. The great masses of human beings the world over were being persecuted and exploited. Marx firmly believed that every individual had the right of remunerative work, such training or education as were appropriate to his abilities, and a standard of living which would allow him food, clothing, adequate shelter and satisfying recreational activities. Plunged by circumstances brought about by his radical views into extreme poverty, he began to dream of a classless society in which every man would have the opportunity to live freely and develop his highest potential, since society, free from selfish interest, would guarantee the rights of each individual. To implement these ideas a new order of society to be known as the communist state, would have to be organized. This was likely to involve revolution against the capitalist governments and ruling aristocracies of most countries, and would probably necessitate a period of rigid state control while the change took place. However Marx believed that in time the new society would be able to function with a minimum of forced direction, because individuals would have been educated in the principles of freedom, equality and moral integrity to such a point that no one would have any reason for selfish action.

Maxim Gorky (1868-1937) having lived through years of poverty and youthful frustration in a period of social change

and revolution, became the mouthpiece for the working classes, the proletariat, as they took over the Russian state government and attempted to put into practice the theories of Karl Marx. The potential beauty of human life and the dignity of every individual man was emphasized by Gorky in all his written propaganda in favour of the new society.

Only fifteen years younger than Gorky, Anton S. Makarenko (1885-1939) was greatly influenced by that popular writer. Makarenko was educated to be a teacher during the years when the idea of a communistic society was gaining popularity in many European countries. Born and raised in the Ukraine, he was thoroughly in accord with the theories of Marx. He fully expected years of experiment as teacher-administrator, but was so firmly convinced that communist principles were practical, that he consistently organized all his educational objectives and methods in such a way as to provide a school society that would give to all its student members the opportunities to develop into acceptable communist citizens. His outstanding successes with these school "collectives" together with his educational writings, which revealed a deep understanding of educational psychology, brought him high recognition in the U.S.S.R. as an educator, and in recent years also in North America.

So great have been the social, economic and educational advances in the U.S.S.R. during the last forty-five years that it may well be the part of wisdom on the part of the western democracies to encourage exchange of educational ideas, and to take stock of the determined efforts of this large block of the world's population to change human nature and re-direct world history through the communist social order.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge my appreciation and gratitude to Dr. B.E. Walker, Head of the Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, for his encouragement and continuous interest in my choice, organization and final preparation of the material for this thesis. His comments were always stimulating and his criticisms most constructive.

Professor Leonard Gads, also of Alberta University, has given me considerable encouragement in personal conversations about the U.S.S.R. and by lending me a number of resource books. I am especially grateful to Professor Gads for special permission to use his translation into English of Gorky's Song of the Falcon.

I would also like to thank my daughter Christine, for her sketches of the three authors I have dealt with in this thesis.

Acknowledgements would not be quite complete without a tribute to Professor C.H. Dobinson, of Reading University, England, who conducted a course in Comparative Education at the Summer School Session, 1960, at Alberta University. Through his interest in education in the U.S.S.R. I was encouraged to prepare an essay on the life and work of Anton Makarenko, Soviet Educator of considerable distinction among his own people but little known in the West. My interest was thus aroused in the philosophy underlying the Soviet system of education and has resulted in this thesis. It has led me into a wide field of reading I would not likely have undertaken otherwise, and which has been a satisfying and rewarding experience.

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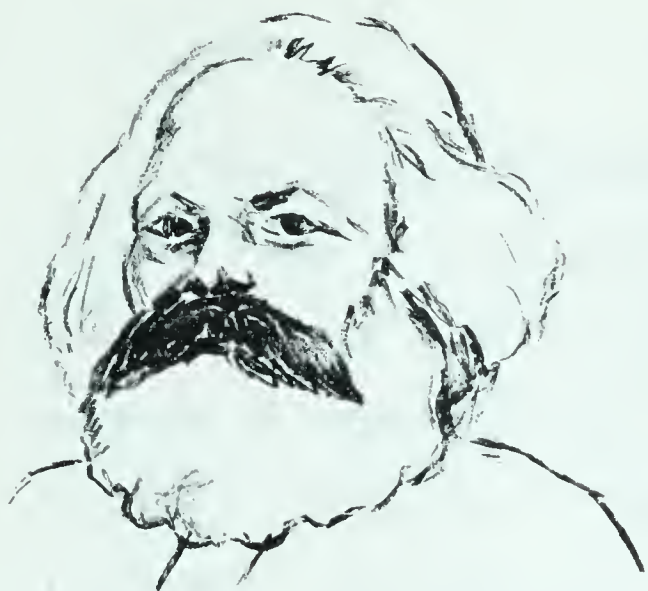
ILLUSTRATIONS

Sketches by W. Christine Scoffield, from the
illustrations contained in the following:

Karl Marx-Britannica Junior, vol. 10, p. 94.
Toronto; Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 1950

Maxim Gorky-Lower Depths by Maxim Gorky
London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, plate 1.

Anton S. Makarenko-A Book for Parents by
Makarenko. Moscow: Foreign Languages
Publishing House, 1954. Frontispiece.



Karl Heinrich Marx

"Workingmen of all countries,
unite!"



Anton S. Makarenko

"To educate a man is
to furnish him with
a perspective leading
to the morrow's joy."



Maxim Gorky

"It's good to feel oneself
a man."

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"All sound educational programs have their beginnings in some code or system of constant, justifiable objectives and purposes."¹ Since educational systems exist for the purpose of educating the young of any particular society for adult life, it is important that educators understand thoroughly the status of the adult and the concept of individual worth which prevails in the economic and political system for which the young people are being prepared. Educational aims and objectives vary as social changes take place, so it is also important that a continuous study be made of the educational trends in other societies. With the USSR's bid for scientific, cultural and military supremacy in the world to-day, it is of utmost importance that the western world try to understand just what has moved the peoples of the communist world to undertake a program of social reconstruction, and how they expect to achieve their objectives.

I. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF THE INDIVIDUAL FOR AIMS IN EDUCATION

Until comparatively recent times the need to survive largely determined the type of education given to the youth of any community of people. In primitive tribes all boys

received their initiation as adults in their society when they could demonstrate their ability to keep up with their elders in the hunt for food, to present an attitude of self-control and stoicism when asked to endure hardship, and to use the weapons they possessed in an efficient way against the enemies of their people. The girls learned from their mothers the art of home-making and the work of women around the tribal camp.

As men became more civilized and grouped themselves in city states, an organized army became a necessity for protection against other similarly organized communities. A selected group of young men were trained by older warriors for the purpose of defense or, if expedient, for aggression. Other young people were trained by their families to produce the necessities of life such as food, clothing, shelter and all other equipment. This system of organizing the means of survival became more elaborate as civilization became more complex, and formal education in schools built for the purpose of education became an institution in almost every civilized society.

As community and national life functioned ever more efficiently to provide security and prosperity and to unify objectives in society, strangely enough, individual differences became more and more pronounced, producing at all stages of history those hardy souls who saw complete personal fulfilment as the chief good to be desired. In modern times the idea of emancipation for all human beings from exploita-

tion by others has become the main motivation for revolution in every part of the world.

With goals of freedom and happiness the western world has increasingly chosen democracy in one form or another as its method of social organization, and has placed "the individual as the basic unit of society and a respect for his personality is the basic premise for lasting social structureImplicit in our regard for the individual is a recognition of his capacity for growth, and a sense of responsibility to see that he is given a fair chance to develop and express such potentialities."²

Such aims in the education of youth are now taken for granted in western democracies, and very large sums are used each year from public funds to prepare young people for citizenship in a society in which it is hoped that, given equivalent opportunities for education, every individual, regardless of his social or economic status or native ability, will be able to develop to the highest his particular talents and potentialities. This, it is believed, should bring him happiness and satisfaction. It is however recognized (tacitly and in the past without too much resentment by most people) that human nature is not always consistent and some individuals in realizing their own potential, and exercising their own freedom, exploit their fellow-humans, and interfere with their personal development.

It was the realization of this fact, in the midst of the industrial revolution a century ago, that led Karl Marx

and other European thinkers to question very seriously the existing system of free enterprise which allowed a few persons of ability and ambition to rise above others and exploit them for their own personal gain. The theory of Communism developed in detail by Marx and Engels has been studied and chosen by many labour organizations as the best means of emancipation from the evils of capitalism, and on a wider basis has in this century been adopted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its satellite nations, Communist China and other smaller states. The last forty-five years have seen an almost impregnable barrier being erected between the democratic western nations and the communist nations of Eastern Europe and Asia - a barrier of misunderstandings, fears, and distrust, which in succeeding generations of young people, grows ever higher. Mass communication, political propaganda and on both sides of the iron curtain, wrongly-interpreted democratic philosophy, combine to mislead and frighten those young people of today in whose hands lies the peace of tomorrow.

This study therefore has been undertaken in an effort to understand something of what has been taking place in the development of educational objectives for those millions of people throughout the world, who in a few short years have come to see themselves for the first time as worthy individuals.

II. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The lives of the three authors chosen for this thesis span more than a century. Marx had spent a lifetime organizing his theories of economics and world history and had presented his plan for social reform, when Gorky began to roam the Russian steppes and in passionate protest against the degradation in which the masses of the workers of his country existed, dedicated the rest of his life to the task of arousing the consciousness of those people to a realization of their own worth, and to shaming the more privileged educated classes to a sense of responsibility for their fellow-beings. While Gorky was still engaged in a program of journalistic encouragement to the awakened proletariat, Makarenko was establishing his reputation as a more than competent teacher, who would soon be called upon to work out in unbelievably difficult conditions a system of education which could reclaim the lives of thousands of young people and set a pattern of experimental procedure that could be adapted in the orientation of any community or collective. The lives of these three men and their writings are so inseparable when one tries to discover their concept of the individual, that it has seemed wise to organize the main works chosen for research in a more or less symmetrical order, so that the influence of their activities on their thinking may be easily evident. The biography of each man will be immediately followed by an analysis of the concept

of the individual man in society as it is revealed in his writings. In all three cases there appear to be certain implications which point clearly to the importance of understanding the educational philosophy and policies inherent in Communism. In summarizing the career and achievements of each man, the implications for educational aims and practices will be considered.

In the concluding chapter more general implications will be considered. It would not be fair in a study of this sort to leave the reader with the impression that the ultimate in educational methods had been reached in the Soviet Union by Anton Makarenko. Credit must be given to the achievements of many educators and the educational administration of not only the USSR as a whole but also the insight into educational needs by the officials of the component republics. Some indication of growth and changes in Soviet education will be considered in the last chapter.

III. SOURCE MATERIALS

The research for this thesis has been done by reading books written by or about the three authors chosen for the study, and where the original books were written in another language, English translations were used. Translators' names have been acknowledged wherever possible. Many of the writings used were found in collections. Since biographical data has been used for the purpose of explaining the writings and life-

long objectives of these authors, and not for the production of an accurately documented series of biographies, such data has been taken from the introductory notes and biographical sketches which are included in the collections used. No attempt has been made to consult comprehensive biographies, but autobiographical material has been found to be both interesting and useful for the purposes of this study.

For the life of Karl Marx, the most useful book for this research proved to be Volume 50, Great Books of the Western World, Marx, containing his two major works, Capital and the Manifesto of the Communist Party, plus an excellent biographical note on Karl Marx. A more intimate glimpse of his family life was obtained in an article written by his son-in-law Paul Lafargue, Reminiscences of Marx, and included in Erik Fromm's Marx's Concept of Man. Some references to Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, German Ideology and The Jewish Question, all by Marx, will be made in order to point up some of the factors involved in Marx's concept of the individual in society. Marx's Concept of Man by Erik Fromm has been very helpful, especially as Fromm has included translations of manuscripts published after the death of Marx.

Gorky's own writings, especially My Childhood and Lower Depths, which are widely available in English translations, are very revealing of the personality and insights of this popular Russian journalist. Three collections of typical excerpts from his essays, short stories and novels, have been

consulted - Nina Gourfinkel's Gorky, Maxim Gorky Articles and Pamphlets and Maxim Gorky Literature and Life. By special permission an unpublished translation of Gorky's Song of the Falcon by Professor Leonard Gads of the University of Alberta has been used to emphasize the importance of popular writing in the education of the awakening proletariat. All of Gorky's writings overflow with his sympathy for the people he knew so well, and express so consistently his belief in the essential worth of all human life, that it has been difficult to refrain from quoting at length from a wide variety of his works. My Childhood and Lower Depths have been used almost as text books in this study, but other works to be referred to in later chapters, have had their place too.

Biographical material on Makarenko has been chosen from the Introduction to Road to Life, Volume I, and from Lilge's Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko - An Analysis of His Educational Ideas in the Context of Soviet Society. Little is revealed of the events of his private life. Conversations with Russian Language professors would indicate that this is a typical problem faced by students when doing research on Soviet persons of note. Their private lives are not considered to be of interest to the public, except insofar as they may affect public service. Much of what is contained in this study has been found in translations of three of Makarenko's works, Road to Life, the story of the Gorky colony, Learning to Live, the story of the Dzerzhinsky Labour Commune, and A Book For

Parents. These three books are all autobiographical in nature, and reveal much of the character of their author. One of the most recent publications on the work of Makarenko, is Soviet Education - Anton Makarenko and the Years of Experiment by James Bowen, Assistant Professor of Education at the University of Alberta, Calgary. This book has added greatly to the volume of information available about Makarenko and Soviet Education. Although Bowen has dealt with his subject from a viewpoint somewhat different from that of this thesis, his book has been most useful and interesting. Other references to the educational contributions of Makarenko are located in the following: the shook-up generation by Harrison E. Salisbury, "On the Marxist Philosophy of Education" by Robert Cohen, The Changing Soviet School by Bereday et al, and several pamphlets and magazines.

FOOTNOTES

1. Alberta Schools Bulletin 1, Foundations of Education, (Edmonton, The Queen's Printer, 1949), p. 5.
2. Ibid., p. 13.

CHAPTER II

KARL HEINRICH MARX (1818-1883) - PHILOSOPHER

I. STUDENT, ECONOMIST AND WORLD CITIZEN

On May 5, 1818, in the old city of Treves in the Prussian Rhineland, there was born into a Jewish family a child who was to influence in no small degree the course of all modern history, Karl Heinrich Marx.¹ His mother was a simple Hungarian girl who never learned to speak or read German. His father was descended from a prominent family of rabbis. When Karl was six years old his father found it expedient to renounce his religion, when his career as a lawyer in high official circles was threatened by extreme racial prejudice against Jews. He and his whole family were received by Christian baptism into the Lutheran Church.

Karl attended elementary and grammar school at Treves. Learning came easy when he applied himself to his studies, and his father, now a successful lawyer in the Prussian official service, expected Karl to follow in his footsteps. The boy was sent to the University of Bonn at the age of seventeen to study law. He seems to have devoted most of his time that first year to wild frolics, paying little attention to his law studies. The second year continued on the same pattern as the first, and after he became involved in fighting a duel he was transferred by his father to the University of Berlin which had a reputation for demanding real work. Even

here Karl by-passed the law studies and concentrated on the reading of Latin, English and Italian classics. He became deeply interested in philosophy and world history, and was an active member of the "Doktor Klub", which in actual fact consisted of young men who gathered to discuss the religious and philosophic views of Hegel. They criticized all the forms of orthodox Christianity and generally adopted the political theories of those on the extreme left wing of republican movements.

So vocal had Marx become in his radical statements that he saw his university career coming to an abrupt end on account of the cautious and suspicious conservatism of both government and educational authorities. He therefore hastened to complete a dissertation "On the Differences between the Natural Philosophies of Democritus and the Epicureans". This he presented to the University of Jena, where diplomas were easy to earn, and received his Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1841, at the age of twenty-three.

Disapproval of Marx's views was so great in academic circles that the young graduate soon realized there would be no place for him on any university staff, or in the government positions where his father might have had some influence. He turned to journalism.

In October 1842 he became editor of the "Rheinische Zeitung" of the city of Cologne, after a few months as staff writer. This was a liberal newspaper, reflecting the views

of the most advanced group of the German Radical Bourgeoisie. Already there had appeared in the pages of this paper some socialistic doctrine expressed in philosophic terms. Marx did not wish to criticize this until he would have an opportunity to study its implications more thoroughly. However he did defend the wine-growing peasants of the Moselle who were protesting the wood-theft laws of the Rhineland Diet. He began to write of his growing interest in economic issues and of his awareness of social injustices. He was now a dangerous man, and in 1843 the paper was suppressed by official orders. He was fast losing faith in the written word or peaceful political evolution as a means of reform. He reluctantly decided to move from the sphere of philosophical journalism to active socialism.

This same year Marx married a boyhood sweetheart, Jennie von Westphalen, the daughter of a high government official and friend of the Marx family. Though Marx had many years of extreme poverty and ill-health, his wife remained a true companion in all his troubles and a good mother to his children. Following their marriage he and his wife moved to Paris, where Marx hoped to study in more detail the socialistic view of economics, for in this great cosmopolitan city the intellectual peak of the movement was at its height.

In Paris he met and knew intimately such leading figures as Feuerbach, Bakunin, Prudhon, Louis Blanc, and the poet-journalist Heinrich Heine, as well as other German émigrés.

Here it was too that he met Arnold Ruge, another exponent of Hegel's philosophy, and joined with him in editing what was intended to be an annual review of contemporary thought, the *Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher*. Only one number was ever published. It contained controversial articles by Feuerbach, Bakunin and Friedrich Engels, as well as two articles by Marx himself, one on the Jewish question, and one on the Hegelian philosophy of law. After this new failure as an editor, he became a contributor to the radical magazine "Vorwärts". In 1845 the entire staff of Vorwärts received orders, originating from the Prussian government, to leave France. While Marx had been living in Paris he had met and formed what was to be a life-long friendship with Friedrich Engels, who was to become his collaborator in all his greatest works. Engels, the son of a German cotton-manufacturer, had been working in one of his father's factories in England, where he had had the opportunity to study at first hand the organization of the factory system with all its implications for the degradation of the working classes. Engels had already published his Position of the Working Classes in England (1844) when Marx made his acquaintance. The latter was much impressed with Engel's grasp of the problems, and found him a stimulating and faithful friend throughout his whole life.

Forced now to leave Paris, Marx went to Brussels and was soon joined there by Engels. Together they planned and

worked out in detail a study that Marx had been developing, a theory of world history. They completed it under the title of "German Ideology", but never had it published. That job remained to be done in 1932.

Not long after their arrival in Brussels the two journalists acquired a weekly German newspaper, the "Brusseller Deutsche Zeitung". As usual they began political agitation through its pages. They joined a communistic society, known as the "League of the Just", which had branches in London, Paris, and in some Swiss towns. This League soon came to be known widely as the Communist headquarters. When it met in London in 1847 Marx and Engels were assigned the task of stating officially its aims and objectives. Thus was born the world-famous Communist Manifesto.

The Revolution of 1848 in France attracted these alert agitators. Having been expelled from Belgium for their radical propaganda, they made their way to Paris, and then on to Cologne where they soon found themselves again in the midst of Revolution. Once more they established a newspaper as an "Organ of Democracy" and were able to publish it for nearly a year before the paper was suppressed. Since this paper had been obviously promoting revolution, Marx was prosecuted for high treason, but was fortunate enough to receive an acquittal from the jury. The authorities however saw to it that he immediately left the country. Again he tried France, but was not allowed to remain in Paris; in fact the French Govern-

ment indicated to him that he would have to settle in Brittany if he wished to remain in France. A quiet life had no attraction for Karl Marx, so he chose to try his luck in England.

Refuge as it was for many political figures from the trouble spots of Europe, England was not very generous with its favours to this stubborn socialist with the one-track mind. The British Government let him stay there to be sure, but the thirty-four years that he spent in the slums of East London with his wife and children, were years of extreme poverty. Few reputable printers would handle his writings which were considered to be of a seditious nature. His published tracts and pamphlets were distributed mostly as free literature and brought him no monetary returns. For years he was almost dependent on the small sums that his friend Engels sent him from time to time.

For a while after 1852 he did become a correspondent for the New York Tribune, but his articles rarely brought as much as two pounds in payment. Food, clothing and fuel were often lacking or inadequate, and in spite of all a careful wife and a devoted housemaid could do, the whole family suffered from malnutrition. Three of his children died in early childhood, and he himself was prey to liver attacks, boils and carbuncles, the result of undernourishment.

Always struggling against ill-health and financial worries he spent most of his time poring over books and newspapers in the British Museum. He contributed articles from

time to time wherever they could be published, but strong industrial control of the public press left few openings for such views as were held by Marx. In 1859 he produced the Critique of Political Economy, the first part of a much larger work which he intended as a complete coverage of the whole field of political economy. He was not satisfied with its arrangement, altered the whole plan, and began to re-write the book. The first volume was published in 1867 under the title of Das Kapital, in English translation Capital.

Since 1864 the Marx family had known slightly better times than before. The International Working Men's Association was founded in England. Marx's profound studies on working conditions, his intimate knowledge (largely through the detailed studies of Engels) of the terrible living conditions arising from the factory system, his association with socialist movements on the continent, and his correspondence with labour leaders in America, gave him considerable prestige in the new organization. He became, if not in actual name, the real head of its general council. Its objectives and policies were clarified and explained to its members by "Father Marx". For a time the organization had fairly smooth sailing. Marx was somewhat ripened by study and experience, at his best mentally and showing much more sagacity and political toleration than in his earlier years. He was more like a teacher and guide than an agitator. He published many discerning expositions on education, trade unions, the working day, and co-operation

which were informative and well-received by the more conservative elements of the Association as well as the radical section. He did not try to involve the group too hastily in extreme expressions of opinion or premature resolutions. Although his suggestions for reform were stated in terms acceptable to all groups within the Organization, he never personally wavered from his lifelong opposition to the power exercised by government and industrial interests in exploiting the labour forces. As far as Marx was concerned there would never be any compromise with reactionary tendencies.

Such a federation as the International Association could not operate without sooner or later becoming involved in events occurring in the countries to which its members belonged. For example Marx's old companion of Paris days, Mikhail Bakunin, had returned from Siberia where he had earlier been banished by the Russian Government for revolutionary activities in 1855. Bakunin became the leading anarchist of Europe, agitating and promoting anti-government uprisings wherever there appeared to be discontent or rumblings of rebellion in the peasant or labour ranks. The name of Bakunin became a rallying point for all socialist sympathizers, and as he travelled from one industrial city of Europe to another, the members of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association who happened to be near, together with the local labour unions, formed the nucleus of actively resistant working men and women. The theories of Karl Marx formed the basis of plans for social

reform, and sparked the attacks on capitalism and exploitation. National governments began to ban the activities of the International Branches within their borders, and to look with high disfavour on any movement that reflected socialist propaganda, or Marxism.

The Franco-German war was also a contributing factor and a strong one in the gradual disintegration of the General Council. The defeat of France caused a number of revolts against the rule of Napoleon III, whose dynasty was overthrown by the Paris Commune of 1871. The Emperor, his family and many of his supporters took refuge in England. Passions and prejudices were bitter in all countries, and nowhere more so than among the members of this international organization of workers. The careful promotion of reason and co-operation by Karl Marx failed to survive the antagonisms aroused at this unfortunate period of European history with the result that the Council, operating from England, suffered a serious collapse. At the Congress of the Hague in 1872, in an effort to revive what had given promise of becoming the centre of reform for the workers of the world, the General Council headquarters was removed to New York. The revival was only temporary however, for at a Labour Conference held in Philadelphia in July 1876, the old International was formally dissolved. Thus another period in Marx's life came to an unsatisfactory end. Other labour movements and international societies of workers were to rise and fall in many parts of the world, but never again with Marx's

personal leadership.

Marx now began to consider the completion of his work Capital as the main task for his remaining years. He wrote to a friend, "I laugh at the so-called practical men and their wisdom. If one wants to be an ox one can easily turn one's back on human suffering and look after one's own skin. But I should have regarded myself as really impractical had I died without finishing my book, at least in manuscript form."² So he steadfastly set himself to conserve his health for this one purpose.

His financial situation was somewhat better at this time than it had been for many years, and he tried repeatedly to recoup his health by visits to warmer climates, but with poor results. His long hours of study in an attempt to gather more knowledge and accuracy regarding property and land laws militated against any improvement in health he might have gained at the many European spas he visited during his last years. He was not able to complete his book with the degree of logic and polish he hoped to achieve.

The death of his beloved wife in the beginning of 1882 while he himself lay ill with pleurisy was a blow from which he never fully recovered. His health continued to deteriorate and fifteen months later on March 14, 1883, he died in London and was buried in Highgate Cemetery.

Friedrich Engels gave the funeral address at the graveside of his friend, the beginning and conclusion of which vividly

express his high regard for Marx. "On the fourteenth of March," he said, "at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think.....An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man.....Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were a cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died, beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers from the miners of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America - and I make bold to say that though he may have had opponents he had hardly one personal enemy. His name will endure through the ages and so also will his work."³

To think of Karl Marx as a man who never relaxed from the realm of philosophic and economic thinking and writing would do him an injustice. Paul Lafargue,⁴ a French Socialist who visited him in 1865, and was welcome at all times in his home, has written a description of his family life that puts Marx in the same family atmosphere that one might find in an English home of good cultural background, where week-end relaxation and family sympathy compensated for the hard and endless hours of unremunerative labour, and where a spirit of

happiness transcended the political enmities, ill-health and repeated failures.⁵

Marx seemed to have freed himself completely from self-interest. Money only meant to him something to be used for his immediate needs, and when that was lacking he continued his self-imposed task of publicizing what he maintained was the only method for freeing all human beings from bondage, i.e., Communism. On a larger scale than family life, Marx could easily believe that freedom from monetary motivation and private interests could bring about release and fulfilment to all men. The extreme personal involvement brought about by nationalist sentiments, class distinctions, personal ambition to excel, and religious prejudice seemed to him to be the underlying cause of all oppression. This idea runs through all his writings, many of which were made available to the public only by the efforts of his faithful collaborator and friend, Engels. This man, a scholar in his own right, gathered up the hundreds of manuscript pages left by Marx, edited them, and saw many of them published.

Marx's life-long study and effort to produce a competent theory of world economics was in fact completed and published. The world is now divided into two main camps of differing ideologies - the one side promoting Marxist Socialism in an attempt to achieve freedom from oppression for all human beings, and the other side as stubbornly defending the principles of democracy and free enterprise as the best way of providing ful-

fulfillment of every man's highest potential. Since Marx's influence has been so great in the move towards social reform in the modern world, and since society is composed of individuals, the way in which Marx thought of the individual man in relation to society is one of the most important underlying concepts in the philosophy of Communism.

II. FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM

Although this thesis aims at a discussion of the development of the concept of the individual in the educational philosophy of the U.S.S.R., one needs to look closely at the idea of MAN as contained in those writings of Karl Marx which have most influenced the revolutionary movements in Russia and the other countries of Eastern Europe for a century. Those writings are the two books, the Manifesto of the Communist Party and his Capital, written by a German Jew, baptized a Lutheran Christian, later turned atheist, who spent thirty-four years of his life in England, a poverty-stricken refugee from Germany, France and Belgium. Translated into many languages from its original German the work of Karl Marx was to influence in the years ahead large sections of the European population to adopt his theory of world communism in their search for social and economic freedom. This same work of Marx has bred in the minds of many North Americans a fear which has amounted to almost a state of panic. Why should the theories of this man Marx have had such different interpreta-

tions in two contemporary societies?

Karl Marx was a student of world history. He saw society as it had developed from the earliest origins of man up to the complex organization of modern civilization. He interpreted the events of all known history as antagonisms between classes of society, and put very little blame or credit on any one individual for changes in the course of history; in fact he would probably have denied that the course of history could be changed. His Hegelian philosophy would naturally lead him to the conclusion that every event held within itself the seed of an opposing reaction. In the early stages of human development the cycles of change were set in motion that were to culminate in a capitalist society in Europe and America, and indeed in most other parts of the world. Individual survival against enemies became dependent on united effort, foresight and organization. Clans, tribes and city states in turn fought others for a place in the sun. Victorious groups took slaves and prisoners. The seeds of protest were inherent in every slave society of the ancient world. As the centuries rolled on and man became more and more organized the world over, the pattern of an ever-recurring overthrow of the status quo became more widely noticeable and inevitable. Structure on structure of strengths in any particular society, e.g., the Roman Empire or the feudal system of England, always carried within it a quality of weakness which, in the fullness of time automatically led to collapse and to a renewal of society in some other form - but

never before the time was ripe for a change.

So Marx took a look at the modern industrialized population of England with all its factories and saw capitalism and expanding imperialism as the natural outcome of world history. In Europe the merchant bourgeoisie had entrenched itself by amassing great wealth and exploiting natural resources and human labour, gradually assuming the power formerly wielded by corrupt, aristocratic rulers of the trading countries of the world. In America, following the search for adventure and fortune by the hardy explorers from Europe, there soon developed the same conditions of exploitation of the helpless throughout the new world. Because this was the natural course of history such conditions as existed everywhere in the world were not to be considered final or right. The new money lords, the capitalists would go down fighting but world history was against them, and in the weaknesses of the system lay the hope of the future emancipation of man. In Chapter XXIX of his book Capital Marx described the evolution of the capitalist farmer in England from the serf of feudal times; then in the following chapters he traced the evolution of the industrialist, showing how the agricultural society of England had to give way to industrialization with its share of social evils, pointing directly to further change as time passed.⁶

So technical is the language used by Marx that one has the impression that somehow he saw man as a corporate being, not responsible individually for historic events in personal or

community life. Individuals were swung along in the system in which they were socially or economically involved. Like sledgehammer blows Marx enumerated example after example, well-known to the reading public, of the betrayal of whole groups of human beings by greedy, public officials or industrial magnates: the discovery of gold and silver in America opened up the way to exploitation of the aboriginal population by big mining companies; the East Indies were colonized and looted by the representatives of the mother countries of Europe with no regard for the welfare of the natives; Africa was turned into a hunting ground for negroes for the slave trade; the disgraceful opium trade in China took no cognizance of the Chinese as human beings—they just did not matter where there was a fortune to be made; the rise of the factory system everywhere was a sentence of unremitting toil for men, women and children with the sole purpose of filling the coffers of the merchants and manufacturers.

The story is heavy reading indeed, but Marx persisted in citing case after case, documented carefully with government reports and written statements from such authoritative writers as Thomas Babington Macaulay, John Fielden, Wm. Howitt and Thomas Stamford Raffles, all of whose works laid bare the scandal of colonial exploitation.⁷ If Marx saw MAN as a corporate being caught up in the inevitability of on-going history, he also tried to back up his ideas with well-proven facts from the world of real events. His theories were based on meticulous

study of court and government records, his conclusions were drawn from what he saw around him in the times in which he lived, and confirmed year after year by the emissaries from other lands who were drawn to him in their search for a champion of the oppressed and exploited poor of every part of the globe. Nor were they disappointed, for Marx's concern reached far beyond the shores of England, from which he wrote, or the boundaries of Germany where he was born. In his plan for a better world he saw himself as a world citizen. In the Manifesto the bounds of nationalities were to be completely over-run by the proletariat of the world.⁸ Working class parties and national interests were to be always superseded by the interests of the communist movement as a whole.

"National differences and antagonisms between peoples are vanishing gradually from day to day.....The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish altogether."⁹

While Marx described in great detail the conditions of working humanity, he did so in terms that were so generalized and impersonal, so scientific and almost mathematical, that the reader may be left in much the same mood as after reading about a problem in theoretical geometry.¹⁰ The cold evaluation of human lives as tools of production, the logical setting down of statistical data on the sales value of men, women and young children, being merely commodities used by capitalists for their own profit, the somewhat laboured language of economics used by Marx to state his case for communism, - all this results in

hiding the vivid reality of underfed, miserable, helpless workers and beggars whom he saw in all the industrial cities of Europe and England. Cold, ruthless and uncompromising as was his indictment of capitalism, Marx's analysis of the existing social system was read widely in Europe and attracted the attention of reformers, labour leaders and many of the intellectuals of European countries.

Marx knew well "the first premise of all human history is, of course, the existence of living human individuals".¹¹ The thing that differentiated man from the animals was the fact that man had it in his power to make history, because he had the extra faculties that enabled him to remember the past, use the present and plan for the future, to express himself in language and communicate with others. Yet man had allowed himself to become the slave of his own social order, to be reduced to an automaton, even a servant of the machinery he had invented.

By inference rather than from direct statements in the text of Marx's books, one begins to have an inkling of the nature of man as he understood it. Man has within him the power to solve his own problems, and to create a society which would consider the good of all. He said that the establishment of a communist community throughout the world was the answer to which man must come. Here is the promise: "In the place of the bourgeois society, with its classes and class distinctions, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each

is the condition for the free development of all".¹² Here it would seem that Marx put a high estimate on the value of the individual, and of the practical possibility of the ideal society being achieved as each person would be allowed the opportunity to develop his highest potential.

The concept of MAN developing in a society of MANKIND required many years of deep and bold thinking, and many manuscripts of difficult, laboured writing. In his early philosophical essays (most of them published after his death) Marx struggled to find an explanation of the many-sided nature of man. In the Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts he seemed obsessed with the idea that man is at enmity with himself. In these studies and in the German Ideology, also an early production, Marx had a good deal to say about "Man's alienation" from nature, from his fellow beings, and from himself, or at least from his own mental processes. Because of his difference from the animal creation, as a human being he cannot trust his natural instincts, or depend on them for a guide for fulfilment. What appear to man to be his natural goals turn out in real life in society to be impediments. Marx explained that this "estrangement" was really brought about by the interplay of relationships in society.

To act in history, to be a maker of history man must be in a position to live, to keep alive; therefore the first needs of man were the most important ones, food, drink, shelter, clothing, all the material necessities for sustaining life.

This, he said, was the first requirement of society. The second fundamental point was that as soon as these needs were satisfied, man, since he is different from the animals, sets up new needs. This was where history really began. Then came the third development when man who was still in the process of making his own life, began to make other men, and the relationship between man and wife, parents and children, the enlarging family, began to present problems. The actual production of life, procreation, which of all man's deeds might be considered to be most natural, now became a social relationship, and in the making of history in all generations, became the basis for society, and in its many ramifications became the cause of man's alienation. Social life brought about division of labour, to facilitate living. Wife and children were the slaves, the property of the man in primitive society, and so began the apportionment of tasks and responsibilities - the owned and the owners.

"The division of labour and power implies the contradiction between the interests of the separate individual or the individual family and the communal interest of all individuals who have intercourse with each other."¹³ This dichotomy of motives in the nature of man took on another slant as Marx went on in the same paragraph "man's own deed becomes an alien power to him, which enslaves him instead of being controlled by him."¹⁴ This unhappy state of affairs Marx believed was due to the capitalistic system of distributing arbitrarily as a com-

modity, man's personal and peculiar gifts of labour. In this same set of manuscripts, commenting on the role of the amateur, Marx promised freedom of activity in the communist society of the future. In the capitalistic system, "as soon as labour is distributed each man has a particular and exclusive sphere from which he cannot escape. He is a hunter, a fisherman, a shepherd, or a critical critic, and must remain so if he does not want to lose his means of livelihood; while in a communist society, where no one has one exclusive sphere of activity, but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for one to do one thing to-day and another to-morrow, to hunt in the morning, to fish in the evening, to criticize after dinner just as I have in mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic."¹⁵

For Marx the concept of alienation lay just where man's work becomes a burden, where his relationship to nature becomes a struggle against nature, and where the organized use of his labour becomes an obstacle to natural fulfilment, so that he has only a feeling of self-denial, a sense of misery rather than of well-being, and finds himself physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker feels himself at home only during his leisure hours, whereas at work he feels homeless. Marx elaborated and extended this idea of estrangement of man in many of those essays unpublished during his lifetime, but a careful reading of his Capital reveals clearly that Marx blamed

this unsatisfactory condition of man's mind on the kind of social order which existed in his time under the capitalistic system. When Marx talked of MAN he seemed to mean all men, yet on closer scrutiny it is really only the working man, the underprivileged, the enslaved that concerned him. Within this poor individual, this frustrated, exploited tool of the capitalist, Marx saw the power to achieve freedom. All Marx's philosophical training and his belief in man's power of self-deliverance led him to the conclusion that activity in man's life would be his salvation, and that that activity must be productive. Only in productivity man is able to realize himself, and find purpose in living. Neither man as an individual nor man as a society should become receptive and exist on the production of others. In this lies corruption and the seeds of death.

No matter from what angle Marx studied the social system of England in the mid nineteenth century, he always came back to the promise of salvation for the working man in a communistic society. For him the only good that could be found in the existing system was the fact that in its very weaknesses and evils lay the seeds of revolution, and the hope for better times to come. That hope had been expressed in other ages - Plato with his ideal democracy (but based on a slave society beneath it), Judaism with its hope of delivery from oppression (but with a special place of privilege for the Hebrews), Christianity with its message of the dignity of man and universal

brotherhood (but somehow the glory of the message had been lost in the false interpretation of submission of man to the will of God). A hope for Utopia in the hearts of men was not enough to bring it into existence. Preparation, education, assumption of temporary power by those who understood, would be necessary to make men agree to free themselves and live as brothers. Therefore a communistic government would be required for a while to guide men towards the ideal society where each would live for the good of all, and all would be concerned about the welfare of each one.

III. EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

To bring about the ideal society as Marx saw it, was going to require two distinct types of education - one to reach the adults who were to usher in the new régime, and the other to educate and indoctrinate the youth so that once established the new order could continue to improve and perfect itself. The first type was well on its way and operating fairly competently even during Marx's lifetime. The gospel of Communism was being spread abroad through trade unions and through the international organizations with which Marx was so closely allied. Socialist apostles in every country were subversively or openly inviting new recruits into their study cells and political parties. Enlightened Christian reformers were calling attention to shameful conditions of housing, child-labour, and exploitation of native peoples abroad, thus aiding un-

intentionally the communist attacks on government and industry. Peasants and labourers found champions in such popular writers as Tolstoy, Heine, Goethe, Victor Hugo, Dickens and Thomas Hardy. With no intention of fostering Communism the education towards sympathy for the underprivileged went steadily on through a press which itself was becoming more and more independent of political and capitalistic pressure. Universal suffrage, compulsory education, freedom of the press, agrarian reforms, labour laws all became evidences that adult education was progressing very quickly, especially in the north-west countries of Europe and Britain.

So convinced was Marx that the capitalistic system must collapse completely before long that he does not seem to have anticipated the reforms that have taken place in western democracies, raising the standard of living of all workers, and offering wide opportunities for educational and cultural improvement to all who can benefit from them, thus earning a considerable measure of loyalty to whatever governmental system is in operation. Adult education in the countries of central and eastern Europe did not follow as smooth a path as in the west. The absolute monarchy of the Romanoffs in Russia, persisted in trying to suppress any kind of education for the masses, and exiled to Siberia to work camps any persons suspected of subversive activities or distribution of socialist literature. Only the persistence of agitators like Bakunin, and journalists like Gorky, and organizers like Lenin, who

defied exile and imprisonment, made it possible in time to bring about a political change, by educating the workers and peasants to a belief in their own worth and faith in the Communist system.

The education of children and youths would be the big responsibility of any communist government once it had managed to establish itself. Marx's study of the English labour laws which one after another were being enacted during his lifetime, led him to make some shrewd comments on their implications for education in the future.

At the height of the industrial revolution it was found by manufacturers in England that "paltry as the educational clauses of the Factory Act of 1864 appear on the whole, yet they proclaim elementary education to be an indispensable condition to the employment of children."¹⁶ The Act laid the responsibility on the manufacturers to comply with the Regulation. The results of combining education and productive labour were so noticeable in the increased efficiency of the children both at work and in their school progress that Marx stated that "From the factory system budded, as Robert Owen has shown in detail, the germ of the education of the future, and education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully-developed human beings."¹⁷ A study of the work of the

Ukrainian educator, Anton Makarenko, will show how close Marx was in his prophecies of future educational policies.

In educating for communism the communistic state would have to adopt a policy of strict indoctrination of the policies, immediate objectives and ultimate hopes of communist philosophy. Every young citizen of a Communist country would have to learn the principles of the Communist Manifesto: "The Communists fight for the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.....they never cease for a single instant to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat ..."¹⁸ If this was true of the communists of Marx's day, it is even more true of the educational aims of the U.S.S.R. which from early school years, through party youth organizations and propaganda in every form of mass media, trains young and old to be enthusiastic supporters of the state. A word perhaps needs to be said to remind western students of Marxism that when Marx emphasized the idea of the state as the supreme authority, it was not a state bound by national borders and reaching out to conquer the world for itself, but rather a world community of human beings living and working together without class distinctions, racial prejudices or religious antagonisms. No greed for wealth or ambition for power was to be tolerated in any individual. As the individual citizen was to be taught to

honor and defend the principles of communism, so the collective society would guarantee the rights and equality of each and every citizen. Marx believed without any doubts that the workers of the world would unite eventually to overthrow all capitalist-controlled governments. If this should happen, the great millionaire corporations of the twentieth century would have to disappear in favour of state-controlled industry and trade. The comfortably well-off middle class business people and professional specialists might have to give up their hopes of becoming wealthy, and religious organizations would have to re-think their faiths in terms of a social order in which the state is the recognized authority for the total welfare of all the people.

The peoples of Eastern Europe and many other parts of the world have had everything to gain and nothing to lose in adopting Marxism, but to the western world, where thrift in earning and saving does not necessarily mean exploitation of others, and where it is believed that nationalization of all industries may result in a crippling of creativity, and a levelling off of wealth and class distinctions, it is little wonder that a barrier of distrust and fear of communism as formidable as the communists' fear and distrust of capitalism has grown to such proportions that on either side a word in favour of the other amounts almost to treason.

The western world has chosen democracy in its various forms. The reason may lie in the fact that western Europe and

the Americas have been settled by peoples who had the enterprising initiative to move out of old societies and push on to new homes and communities of other similarly-minded folk, and so the idea of free enterprise as a feature of capitalist society has an element of adventure and an aura of independence which appeals to the spirit of the new world. Then too the American public (including Canada) has among its population two large sections of the Christian world - strong Protestant groups descended from the hardy reformers who risked their lives to oppose the oppression and corruption of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, and equally strong Catholic groups, both Greek and Roman, who have fled their mother lands to seek the freedom of a new country; these two sections of North American people will not easily be converted to atheistic Communism.

It is in the social history of Russia with its political corruption and cruel exploitation of the masses that one must look for the reasons why communism appealed as a means of emancipation. The most popular revolutionary writer, Maxim Gorky,¹⁹ has depicted their story in his own life as well as in his works.

FOOTNOTES

1. Biographical data on Marx as in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1957, 14, Marx, Karl Heinrich, by G.D.H. Cole, p. 995, and in Great Books of the Western World, 50, Marx (ed. by R.M. Hutchins), p.v.
2. Ibid., p.vi.
3. Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man, New York: Fred Ungar Publishing Co., 1961. pp. 258-260.
4. Paul Lafargue later married Marx's daughter Laura. Encyc. Brit. vol. 14, p.992, Col. 2.
5. Eric Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man. Quoted in a letter by Lafargue, p.221-241 passim.
6. Karl Marx, Capital, Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc. Great Books of the Western World, 50. (William Benton, Toronto, 1952) Chapters XXIX, XXX passim, pp. 368, 369.
7. Ibid., Chapter XXXI, passim, pp. 371-377.
8. Karl Marx, Manifesto of the Communist Party, Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc. Great Books of the Western World, 50. (William Benton, Toronto, 1952). p.428.
9. Ibid., p.428.
10. Karl Marx, Capital, Chapters VI, VII, passim.
11. Karl Marx, German Ideology, quoted in Erich Fromm's Marx's Concept of Man. (Fred. Ungar Publishing Co., New York, 1961). pp.14, 15.
12. Karl Marx, Manifesto, Chapter xx, r.col. p.429.
13. Karl Marx, German Ideology, quoted in Erich Fromm's Marx's Concept of Man, p.206.
14. Ibid. p.206.
15. Ibid. p.206.
16. Karl Marx, Capital, Chap. XV, p.236.
17. Ibid. p.238.
18. Karl Marx, Manifesto, p.434.
19. Gorky (pen name of Alexei Maximovitch Peshkov, 1868-1937) popular novelist, playwright, poet, and journalist.

CHAPTER III

MAXIM GORKY (1868-1937) JOURNALIST

I. PROPAGANDIST AND WORKERS' FRIEND

In much of the history, literature and music of Russia, from the tales of Tsar Peter I through books like Tolstoy's War and Peace to such moving cadence as is found in the Volga Boatman, there runs a thread of inevitable destiny bound up in the lives of the peoples of the vast plains, mountains and river valleys of Eastern Europe. Inevitably too in the Russian language the adjective most often found with the word for destiny is "bitter". It is not therefore surprising that when a young and sensitive writer, beginning his literary career in the last decade of the nineteenth century, wished to choose a pen name, he simply added to his own Christian name Maxim this word "bitter", in Russian-Gorky.¹ One of the most popular of all Russian writers, Maxim Gorky soon became known from one end of Russia to the other for his vivid descriptions of the common people, persecuted and pushed down to the lowest depths by aristocratic rulers supported and encouraged by the autocratic Romanoff dynasty, the very mention of which still rouses bitterness in the minds of a released working class.

Alexei Maximovitch Peshkov was born in 1868 at Nizhni-Novgorod,² the chief city of the region of central Russia which lies at the confluence of the Oka and Volga rivers. His father was a carpenter-upholsterer, his mother the poetry-loving

daughter of a linen dyer. The father's work took the little family to Astrakhan where the only secure years of his childhood were spent. Unfortunately the young father contracted cholera and died very suddenly. Alexei, only four years old and his mother had to return to Nizhni-Novgorod to live with her parents. In one of the most vivid of all his books, My Childhood,³ Maxim Gorky has described in detail his grandparents' home, the bestiality of his uncles, the unbearable frustration of his mother, the deep affection and religious influence of his grandmother, and the warped cruelty, yet strange integrity of his almost illiterate grandfather. How a child of such tender years and fine sensitivity could have survived what he experienced for the next ten years seems like a miracle!

His widowed mother, made desperate by the insane rages of her father and brothers and the daily boredom of a family life that offered no hope for the future and only drunken oblivion for the present, soon abandoned her little son to the far from tender mercies of her relatives and left home to live a loose and promiscuous life for a year or two. After the birth of an illegitimate child she reluctantly returned home. For a few months, Alexei knew again the interest and care of a mother whom he loved and respected as the strongest character (as he believed) in that unwholesome household. But Varvara Peshkov was not as invulnerable as the little boy thought. She could not bear the murderous threats of her

brothers and the miserly, cruel rantings of her father for very long.

To escape this time she chose to marry a young university student, ten years her junior. The two seemed to be congenial, and the step-father was willing to give a home to the small Alexei, who at last was to have the chance of some schooling. For a while life was more peaceful.

The mother's dream was short-lived for the young husband soon tired of the responsibility of family life. He lost his ambition to study, and often failed to bring home any money for food or fuel. Forced to live in extreme poverty in a rigorous climate, Varvara gave birth one after another to two more children, both of whom died probably of malnutrition. Her health broken, she had to send Alexei when he was seven years old out into the streets to run with other beggar children, scavenging and stealing whatever and wherever they could. It was a bitter life, and the culture-loving young mother wasted away. With little food and never enough fuel or clothing to ward off heavy colds, she soon contracted tuberculosis, the dread disease of the poor, and lay gasping for breath and terrified on the pile of dirty rags that were her bed. Aggravated by lack of nourishing food, her little strength depleted by constant beatings by her husband, the disease soon had its way, and even Alexei's heroic efforts to bring food to his mother could not stop its progress.

In the meantime the uncles had done everything they could

to get control of their father's business, from deliberate arson to attempted murder. A strong sense of family, perverted in many other ways, prevented the old grandfather from laying charges against his own sons, but his business and family affairs went from bad to worse. The grandmother, now a confirmed alcoholic, was driven from their poor hovel of a home by her harsh and miserly husband. She was forced to earn her own living by any odd job she could find, but even so she often brought gifts of food to her ungrateful husband, whom she believed to be mentally deranged by all his misfortunes. The greedy and suspicious old man insisted that his wife prepare dinner whenever she came home with materials she had bought out of her own earnings. Sometimes they took turns day about supplying the food. With only one room to live in, she accepted jobs where she could have her room and board as well. As Varvara weakened, her husband became less and less interested in providing a living for her, and finally with only Alexei's meager earnings it became necessary for the old grandfather to take his dying daughter with Alexei and the second of her two babies, an ailing scrofulous child, to live with him. No one was happy about the arrangement, but no other solution presented itself. In any case it made little difference, for first the frail little baby brother, cared for mainly by young Alexei, soon became too much of a burden for the sick mother, and was taken to live with the grandmother. Plans were in the making to remove Varvara as well, but before they could be completed

the relentless disease put an end to her sufferings. A few days after his mother's funeral, his grandfather called Alexei to him, and informed him that he would now have to get out into the world on his own, as there was no room for him there any longer. He got out into the world.

Alexei's schooling had been very much hit-and-miss. His grandfather and his mother in their better moments had taught him the importance of being able to read. Strangely the grandfather, while pretending to dislike the child, had insisted on him memorizing many pages from the Bible, especially the Psalms. He also had encouraged him to make pets of the birds which came to their back yard. He had allowed him to build a small boy's retreat in the corner of his small property, where he could keep his personal possessions and retire from the rough quarrels of the family. His illiterate but poetic grandmother filled his mind from his earliest years with all the wealth of Russian folk-lore, fairy tales, legends and songs remembered from her youth. His mother in other circumstances might well have become a teacher, so sensitive was she to the beauties of literature. The few months she had with her boy from time to time, she used to read and recite poetry to him; under her instruction he memorized hundreds of lines of the best Russian verse. A few scattered months of school brought Alexei to the end of any formal education he would ever receive - and a certificate for passing the third grade!

Beatings which at times almost caused his death, criminal

activities as a child bread-winner which made him well-known to the police, repeated sights of cruel persecution and sexual brutality, interspersed with strict ethical teaching from an erratic grandfather, and delightful periods of affectionate care and petting from a whimsical and bewilderingly changeable grandmother-this was the preparation for life which produced the brilliant and much-loved people's writer - Maxim Gorky.

For fifteen years Alexei Peshkov wandered from job to job, almost all hard manual labour, errand-boy, dock-labourer, cook, general handyman, watchman, railroad worker - anything to keep himself eating. He was a voracious reader⁴ and often chose to work at any job that would keep him near a source of books. He would spend his hard-earned money to buy candles rather than food in order to read borrowed books at night after long hours of hard work. These were the years in which he tramped from south to north and east to west of Russia, living and working with all sorts of people, trying his hand at any kind of job. Nothing was beneath him, and people were human beings wherever he met them. He was passionately anxious to learn all he could about this native land of his, of which he became inordinately fond and proud.

In the funeral oration over Gorky's coffin in 1936 Molotov said, "No writer of our country or any other country had known the life of the submerged tenth so intimately, none had experienced in his own person so much of the cruelties and injustices of contemporary society as had Gorky."⁵

Alexei had early begun to write down his experiences and to compose stories, essays, newspaper articles and even plays. His first real story was accepted when he was about twenty-four years old by a daily newspaper in the city of Tiflis, where he was working in the railroad workshops. It was at this time that he first used the signature Maxim Gorky, that soon became famous throughout Russia and the whole of Europe, and before long also in America.

By 1895 he was well-known as a provincial journalist. His story Chelkash had been accepted by a St. Petersburg Review. A publishing firm undertook two years later to put his stories into book form. Its success was enormous and Gorky found himself lined up beside Tolstoy in public opinion as one of Russia's greatest and most popular writers.

The years between 1897 and 1907 were unsettled and filled with a maturing determination to aid his people in their struggle for liberation from the oppression of their rulers. This deep feeling for the people he knew and understood so well had led him to seek out those emerging leaders of the proletariat, who were beginning their work of revolt against the aristocracy. Marx's theories of a classless society swept the countries of Europe like a wild-fire, and Russia was no exception. His method of presenting his philosophic and economic ideas as in the Manifesto of the Communist Party and in Capital⁶ appealed to the intellectuals in many groups of thinkers and in Russia especially they became the propagandists

for Marxism in the press and in educational circles. For those who could not read, and in 1897 seventy-four percent of the population were listed as illiterate, there were other methods of recruiting partisans. Gorky's best-known novel Mother⁷ gives a detailed description of the methods used to spread communist propaganda and to convert young people and the more difficult older people to a sense of independence and a willingness to gamble their lives on the hope of a better future. The name of Gorky was soon linked with the Social Democratic Party, and all his activities and writings became suspect to the authorities. Police surveillance, persecution and months of imprisonment with exile from his home city of Nizhni-Novgorod only made him increasingly popular with those whom he defended. Authorities tried every known way, short of execution, to keep him isolated from the people. They tried to stop him from writing but materials were smuggled to him in jail. His person was too precious to the populace for the extreme measure of death or even exile to Siberia, and visitors had to be admitted to prove that he was still alive.

Chekhov,⁸ the popular playwright, was Gorky's very good friend. With his connivance, Gorky was able to have his play Lower Depths⁹ published and produced while he was still imprisoned. It had a fantastic success both in Russia and abroad. The story in it of depraved and unfortunate victims of a society motivated only by the ambitions and selfishness of the upper classes found a response in the hearts of all who saw it. The

possibilities of human virtue portrayed in the most hopeless and unrepossessing of human creatures stimulated hope for the future in the breasts of an awakening mass of humanity. The rough sense of humour and the natural feelings of pity for suffering, shown by the characters in the play, appealed to the crowded audiences who viewed the play in the theatres of the large cities. It was quickly translated into other languages and had a remarkable success especially in France and England.

Gorky took an active part in the revolution of 1905 against the Tsarist régime, more particularly aimed at reform within the government than at the Romanoff dynasty. For a time sheer numbers of the rebelling mobs of workers prevailed, but when reforms had been promised and the people's armies, ill-equipped with weapons and tired of strikes and riots and no pay, had dispersed to their widely scattered homes, the secret police and government agents proceeded to make many arrests and to stop for the time being any further revolutionary activity. Taxes and legal restrictions in every area became worse than before. A bitter lesson was learned by the proletariat - no member of the ruling class could be trusted - a lesson that was not forgotten when the 1917 uprising occurred!

In the meantime Gorky had to flee the country to save his neck. He went by way of Finland, Germany, France and Italy. He visited many countries, trying to promote anti-Tsarist sentiment, in order to make foreign aid difficult for the incumbent

government of Russia. He lectured in America, visited schools and colleges, met economists and administrators, learning all he could about democracy, education and the western world. He continued to publish voluminously, writing wherever he happened to be.

Eventually he settled in Capri, Italy where he found the climate more suitable to his health, and there he became the literary attraction for visitors from many countries. He carried on a wide correspondence with foreign admirers who had read his books or had heard of his progressive ideas. It was during this period that he formed an enduring friendship with Lenin, the only major conflicts being apparently their attitudes toward the "intelligentsia" of Russia, whom Gorky came to despise, while Lenin saw in them the possibility of cultural and pedagogical leaders for the early years of Communism. During the first World War years too, Lenin had been loth to give up his idea of arousing the working classes and the common soldiers of the allied countries to rebel against their governments and military leaders, thus taking advantage of the weariness of war to establish the first stage of a World Communist state. Working closely with the proletariat of the Russian states and provinces Lenin had, like Marx, failed to realize the effect which gradual reforms in labour conditions and better living standards in the west, would have in the minds of the working people of the democracies. The demands of war and the fear of German military domination had drawn people of all classes in

the Allied countries of Europe and America together in a common cause. For the time being, until the war would be won, few people were interested in communist propaganda, especially when it could result in civil strife and prolong the very thing that everyone wished to bring to an end. Reluctantly Lenin was forced by his colleagues to concentrate the struggle for liberation of the poor to Russia and its related peoples of the lands east of Germany.¹⁰

During the war Gorky had been living quietly in St. Petersburg, though continuing to publish his stories of the people he had known. His health had improved slightly while in Italy, for as long as he lived quietly there, but his friends in Russia, anxious to have him on the spot, had persuaded him that it would be safe to return. War clouds were looming when he arrived in the capital, and even after Russia had been drawn into the war Gorky maintained a pacifist attitude. Partly his health was responsible for this. He had as a young man developed tuberculosis of the lungs, the result of a self-inflicted gun wound at a time in his youthful career when he thought to end his life and all its frustrations by committing suicide.¹¹ He was not successful in his attempt, but did such damage to his lungs that he had to fight declining health all his life. But partly too his attitude toward the war was part of the general lack of interest in what was thought to be the "Tsar's War". Neither he nor the peasant-worker class of Russia had any desire to fight the battles of a government they despised. However

when the Bolsheviks rose up against the demands of the military authorities for recruits and food supplies in 1917, Gorky was more than ready to support a "people's war", both as soldier and propagandist. When the war was over and years of famine and hardship and confusion followed, it was Gorky whose voice in the press and from the stage urged the people on to persevere in what they had undertaken. It was Gorky who travelled again to the United States of America to solicit aid for his famine-stricken land, and who, in the midst of provincial anarchy and central dictatorship, never ceased to press for universal education and better-trained public officials.

Another break in his health forced Gorky to leave the bitter climate again, and once more Italy received him, this time in Sorrento. He was the most popular of all writers of the early Communist Russia. He wrote intimately of the kind of people from which he himself had sprung, the now awakened proletariat, slowly finding its way in a disapproving world. He portrayed them as heroes in his earlier novels and short stories, raising themselves to loftier heights, but more and more as time went on, the heroes were working together in teams and groups, ever building towards the Communists' avowed ideal, straight from Marx - all working together collectively for the good of the whole people, and negating their own personal interest. Yet here too the development in Maxim Gorky's story plots indicated his own attitude towards the movement of the people - personal interest became identified with the good of all.

He wrote little of his own adult life or his personal relationships. He had a number of alliances with women friends, mostly companions during his travels abroad. He had married while at Nizhni-Novgorod. His wife, Catherine Peshkov bore him two children, a little daughter who died while still very young, and a son Maxim, whom the father loved too well for his own good. Catherine was a typical intellectual, very attractive in appearance, and an ardent revolutionary. One might have expected congenial family relations, but their natures clashed violently and they stayed together as a family for only a few years. The little Maxim was badly spoiled and grew up into a care-free, useless young man who was quite happily dependent on his devoted father.

Little is known of the intimate details of the last few years of Gorky's life. Many conflicting reports were circulated at the time of his death on March 3, 1936. An official communiqué stated that he had died of pneumonia, his son having succumbed to the same illness the previous year. Two years later a flurry of rumors in the midst of political purges resulted in another communiqué which stated that Maxim Gorky had been "medically assassinated" by his attending physicians on the order of Yagoda, Chief of the Cheka. The same announcement said that Gorky's son had actually been a victim of the same conspiracy.¹²

One thing seems certain - during the last years of his life this outstanding exponent of the people's rights and

potentialities was under close surveillance by the Stalin régime. As far as the public knew, he was completely shut off from contact with his former friends, but a deep silence still holds as to why. His name was allowed to continue as the beloved writer of the young Russian Republic.

II. REALIST HUMANISM TO COMMUNISM

Maxim Gorky was not a contemporary of Karl Marx, but his first fifteen years did parallel Marx's last fifteen. Marx's comprehension of the plight of the working classes came to full flowering in the writings of those last years of his life, while Gorky's experiences in those same years in the miserable slums of central Russia, were preparing him to become one of the most successful propagandists for Marx's theories.

Gorky's earliest memory was a constant reminder that this earthly life of man was very transient. His father lay dead and would never again provide that security for his mother and himself that gives stability and peace of mind. It was a sad lesson for a very small child and was driven home even more sharply when he found himself a member of his grandfather's household where no one had any respect for anyone else, and where the only way to avoid trouble was to keep out of the way of those who had authority.¹³

He early began to look with suspicion on all those placed in authority over him - adults in the home, later teachers and

employers and especially police! He developed a shyness of character and a faculty for keen observation of all that went on about him as he crouched for warmth and safety in the corner shelf above the old-fashioned Russian stove in his grandmother's kitchen. Every detail of that horrible household, where jealousy and murderous hatred stalked by day and night, was imprinted on his mind and found its way later into the pages of his biographical writings. Between the drunken spells of his grandmother, he listened in delight to the heroic tales of old Russia and the folksongs of her own peasant youth, at those times when she would gather the lonely little boy into her arms and rock him affectionately. Between the beatings he received from time to time from the strange old man, this grandfather who nearly killed him in his insane rages at other members of the family,¹⁴ he was encouraged to lead the life of other children of his class - to collect items precious to small boys, to have pets and to enjoy the beauties of trees and sunsets. In this unpredictable mixture of good and bad experiences he early came to recognize some good in the most degraded and cruel and frustrated people he was ever to know. How he appreciated those bright spots and recalled them in delightful reminiscences in later years.

At this time too he noticed that his grandfather and his grandmother seemed to worship two different Gods.¹⁵ That of the former was very stern and distant, demanded ritual prayers and praise, but never interfered in the daily living of the old man! His grandmother's God on the other hand was very close and

intimate and she consulted him in every crisis; her God lived with her, and the grandson had a feeling that she had a special and privileged relationship with God. He felt at home in church, because grandmother's God went with them, and he had a deep childish faith in the living care of this great friend of hers. It was a pleasant feeling, and later even when he had discarded his religious beliefs for Marx's materialistic view of the universe, he had only to recall those days with his grandmother in church to recapture the warm feeling of security that came from a trust in a friendly God.

Every experience taught the child a lesson which in time contributed to his enlightened and joyous concept of what man should really be. After his first beating by his grandfather at the age of five, while he lay suffering with pain and terror, he began to feel and understand something of the pain and passion that overwhelmed others. He wrote in later years,

"The days of my illness were important days of my life during that time I seemed to grow suddenly older and develop a new quality - that of being concerned about all people. It was as though the skin had been torn off my heart, making it unbearably sensitive to every injury, my own or another's."¹⁶

So man's concern for man as a principle of living began to take root.

As his mother found life more and more intolerable in her father's hostile home and often wept bitterly or raged with resentment and frustration the little Alexei came to understand that she whom he had thought so strong and bright, was in reality weak and vulnerable, but it gave him keener insight into the

weaknesses and loneliness of human nature.¹⁷

After his terrible beating and its aftermath of near death he learned from the reluctant regret expressed by his grandfather for the unfortunate episode, that individuals somehow exist in a group where there are loyalties.¹⁸ The family is such a group, and family loyalties should bring about understanding and forgiveness if there is to be any survival of the individual members. Certain indignities like beatings can be accepted within a family but must not be tolerated from outsiders. This was his first lesson on the dignity of man and his potential to rise above circumstances, and he had learned it from this cruel old man. With growing comprehension he listened to the pitiful story his grandfather told him of the barbarian-like cruelty of his own boyhood days and he came to understand much of what had puzzled him about his uncles and their hatred of their father. Every abnormal reaction in the lives of men could be traced back to their childhood environment.

While the years went on young Alexei Peshkov gleaned what he could of knowledge and humour and training for life from his grim surroundings. He soon developed a driving sense of responsibility for his mother and little brothers, and a sense of values far beyond his years. For example in his one satisfactory term at school he came off with top honors which rated a gift of money for whatever books he wished to buy. He had worked hard for the prize and had already picked out the book

he would buy. But the money came at a time when there was no food in the house for mother and babe, both slowly dying of starvation. It was only a short struggle for him to decide to forego the book and replace it with food for the family. His grandmother understood the situation but firmly backed him up in what he did. Immediate human need was always for him in later years a driving force. Laws and ethics were made for those who could afford them; for him, with all his ability to learn and his passion for books, school had to be abandoned, and scavenging food and stealing and reselling lumber offered the only method of helping his family. It had become acceptable to him as to thousands of others like him.¹⁹

As he grew bigger and was thrown completely on his own to earn his living at the age of nine by a family torn apart and destroyed by jealousy, selfishness and cruel hostility, he could not have helped but see the disastrous results of disunity. He must have longed for some common cause for co-operation and affection. Years later his best-loved novel Mother tells the heroic story of a mother and son united in a common cause, working loyally to promote the movement towards liberation of themselves and their fellow workers.²⁰ It is the story of the slow and difficult process by which the older folks gradually came to support and encourage the young people as they attempted to rouse others to throw off the shackles of lethargy and fear which bound them in a state of near slavery. Defying both imprisonment and death, they epitomized unswerving

devotion to a worthwhile cause, as the young and old alike were gradually united for the first time in trying to fan a spark of protest against oppression into a flame of rebellion. Defeat was turned into victory because this mother and son and their friends had tried, and had proven that they could remain true against all odds. This and others of Gorky's books attempted to prove to the workers that the stuff from which heroes were made was to be found among them in even greater degree than among the romantic warring knights of old, whose stories formed the basis of most legends and folksongs. The natural love of mother for son created the possibility for understanding the hopes and aspirations of a younger generation. Gorky must have recalled many times as he wrote his stories how little heroism and unselfishness had been exhibited in the relationships of his family when he was a child. How well he must have realized the value of loyalty and united effort, for it shines through all his tales!

As an adventurous journalist, after years of harrowing experiences among the down-and-outs and the petty wage-earners of the nation Gorky was moved to devote the rest of his life to trying to present to his beloved countrymen the vision of the essentially good man or woman, able by his own strength to make a place for himself, and by his concern for others, to help in building up a co-operative society where the freedom of every individual to achieve some kind of dignified life would be guaranteed by a people united to govern themselves. He was

motivated by a great love for Russia and the Russian people, and through that love to an out-going concern for all working people in the world. In his earlier years of writing Gorky reveals a great hope that the movement he was promoting would be a world movement - workers everywhere would unite and help each other. This had been Marx's dream, and his early disciples were working towards a world Utopia, not just the emancipation of the oppressed and degraded classes of any particular country.²¹

Gorky reluctantly gave up his childhood faith in Christianity.²² Leo Tolstoy's sympathetic and understanding stories of the common people, his paternalistic advice to them that happiness and contentment for them lay in quiet acceptance of their lot in life as being God's will for them, had had considerable influence in every circle of readers. Tolstoy was the great, almost legendary literary figure of the nineteenth century in Russia, the kindly aristocrat interesting himself in the miseries of the poor. Surely this love and sympathy emanated from a deep religious belief in the love of God. It was a great shock to the young man Gorky to realize at his first meeting with the great writer that the latter was at heart an atheist,²³ giving only lip service to the beliefs of the church. From this time on Gorky found more and more to suspect in the attitudes of so-called religious people, and became ever more convinced of the power of men to live richly and creatively by their own strength, especially when bolstered by that of their

fellow men. His faith in man himself as the ultimate power gradually replaced his childhood faith in God, and became his real religion.

Gorky saw too that the Russian Church had done little or nothing to raise the standard of living of the common people, and if anything had consistently supported the claims to authority of the ruling classes. With disillusionment on these fronts, and a realization that foreign governments were likely to stand beside the government in power, Gorky more and more narrowed his propaganda to the people of Russia and the provinces and countries round about it. Gradually he became so involved with the welfare of the little people of his own land, the folks he knew so much about, that all his concern became concentrated on finding emancipation for them. He idealized the people, the land, the homes of the section of Europe ruled by the Romanoffs and their ruthless princes and nobles. Gorky's plea to the peoples of western Europe to refuse financial aid to the Russian government in their re-organization after the workers' rebellion of 1905, made his name a dangerous one in the German and French press. It was for the starving millions on the vast Russian steppes in the years of famine after the first world war that Gorky personally sought aid from the United States and obtained cash donations through groups organized especially to help the famine victims of Russia. Thus as the unrest of the early twentieth century grew and spread, in Russia the discontent and resentment emerged

as open defiance. Gorky's stories focused the attention of their readers on the Russian workers. His vivid writing portrayed the people he so loved as a special nation of persecuted, exploited working men and women, who, in spite of grossness, cruelty and ignorant superstitions, were somehow the innocent victims of their criminal rulers. The people loved this picture and identified themselves with the heroes of Gorky's tales. So gradually communism in Russia came to mean a hope for liberation of the Russian proletariat (workers' class). Gorky never did become associated in the people's minds with a world movement. His propaganda was meant for the Russian populace, and it did for them what he intended. It filled them with a new, sweet sense of worth. It lent glamour to the courageous deeds he credited to them. Above all because of his urgent love for their welfare, they too caught the spirit of brotherhood inherent as he felt in the true meaning of a communistic society. A national pride began to be felt by the masses of people who had for centuries looked on themselves as little more than chattels belonging body and soul to their masters. It was altogether a new spirit that Gorky brought into the lives of those who read his books or saw his plays. An emerging nucleus of political leaders with strong communist principles, quietly working both within Russia and from outside contact points were only too glad to profit by Gorky's immense popularity.

This gradual change from a world view to a national concern

was a great disappointment to those who were internationally involved. It was a compromise in the wide purpose expressed in the Manifesto of Marx and Engels, the literal objectives of which Lenin completely approved. Lenin²⁵ had by 1916 become the recognized head of the communist activities in Europe. He had carried on with colleagues in every country of Europe and America a campaign among the soldiers and munitions workers to incite them against military and government authority. He thought that the workers of every nation would be ready to be turned from a useless war by the time Russia was at last aroused. It was very reluctantly that Lenin at last gave up his idea of a world revolution. He had not realized that most workers in allied countries did not really blame their governments for working conditions (which generally by this time were in any case much better than in Russia). In western democracies workers had the franchise, elected their legislative representatives and had already seen many social reforms taking place. The propaganda from Communist headquarters attracted little interest among war-weary fighters abroad or even in labour circles at home.

When Lenin was at last convinced that there would be no uprising on an international basis he became one of the most aggressive of the Russian Revolutionaries. Now Gorky came out from his quiet life to join his people in their bid for freedom. The revolution of 1917 was a success. The farmers and labourers fought now in the common cause against their rulers, where they

had had no interest in a war against the Tsar's enemies.

In the new régime Gorky would have used what he considered the good characteristics of the educated and cultured people he knew to form a nucleus of trained officials. Lenin trusted no one but the proletariat. The two men disagreed on this point but as the years went by Gorky too came to believe that the interest of the intelligentsia was superficial and not really in deep sympathy with the uncompromising principles of real Marxism.

Maxim Gorky's short stories, plays and novels depict very clearly his own developing concept of man. In his earlier newspaper articles written as a very young man, travelling and living among the "submerged tenth" of the population, he described the actual lives of the people - real people he knew - their essential goodness (though often only fleetingly in evidence) and the insidious and never-to-be-ignored evil in their lives; he probed into the underlying reasons for alcoholism, criminal negligence of once dear families, cruelty, bestiality, slothfulness and despair in the lives of those he came to love passionately as fellow human beings.²⁶

In 1928 Gorki wrote an article On His Career as a Writer. In Chapter I, he distinguished between romanticism and realism; his first writings were realistic, offering the truthful, unvarnished representation of people he knew and their conditions of life.²⁷

Romanticism he divided into two categories - passive and

active. The earlier romantic writers who realized the conditions under which millions of people lived and worked sympathized with them and loved them in a way, but offered only spiritual submission or vicarious sharing of the high ideals of others as their one avenue of escape from an almost unbearable life. This method of encountering life Gorky could not countenance!

So much for passive romanticism.

Active romanticism, Gorky believed, could bring strength and resolution to the will to live, and could rouse man to revolt against the tyrannical reality of his existence. It is not difficult to follow Gorky's growth from mere realism to this active romanticism. One of his masterpieces belongs to his early period of realism - Twenty-six and One.²⁸ It is the stark story of twenty-six baker-boys and one girl. The scene is vivid, but no solution is offered for the monotony and hopelessness of their existence. Yet even here there is a strength inherent in the lonely individuality of the girl, as she faces the ridicule, reviling and filthy language of the boys when they vent their anger and disillusionment on her whom they had revered and idealized, and who they felt now had betrayed them in her affair with a common soldier. Gorky has presented a touch of nobility in this poor girl, as fear of the boys changes to a desperate courage in the extremity of her need to face out the situation. She is not vindicated and they are not excused for their crudeness, but the author Gorky has

revealed his wealth of comprehension of these persons, and his own unquenchable tendency to believe that there is a buoyant spirit of resurgence to be found in the masses of workers. Gorky was the first of Russian writers to sense this reservoir of unsuspected creative energy, if only it could be released for constructive purposes.

The play Lower Depths written later and from prison, and prepared for its presentation by his friend Chekhov was another of Gorky's realistic works - a literary masterpiece, far more successful than either of them anticipated. Appearing in the years when the People's Revolution of 1905 was just gathering momentum, it did more than any other one thing to show the Russian people to themselves. Its theme sprang from the terrible effects of the famine of 1900. By 1901 about twenty million peasant-farmers of Russia were on the verge of starvation. Thousands of folk who in ordinary crop years just managed to eke out a living, were seeking bread and work. The towns and villages were crowded, and no relief for them was offered by the government. Highways were filled with travelers on foot or otherwise, aimlessly coming and going - rag-gamuffins, criminals, drunkards and mentally depraved mixed with children, young girls, youths and old folks, all on the move, sleeping at night wherever they could find shelter. There was a dumb sort of feeling of gratitude for any little crumbs of charity or kindness that came their way - their only ambition to keep body and soul together, though why they should

was a mystery to most of them, and indeed suicide was very frequent, and death no cause for sorrow.

In *Lower Depths* Gorky as always described the people he knew and assigned to each individual in the play the corporate characteristics of the thousands of Russian citizens who either had fallen into degradation or had never had the opportunity or will-power to rise above it. There is much pathos and humour in his delineation of characters, much insight and sympathy in their words and actions, and a powerful message to his audiences and readers of the tremendous spirit and unleashed power that existed in the slowly awakening heart of this people. The successes of the play at home and abroad were proof of its appeal. Just a few quotations are enough to sense the reason why people identified themselves with the characters portrayed, and left the theatres, greatly excited with the conviction that these situations they had just witnessed, so true to life, ought not to be! Could not something be done about it, and that right soon? The whole question of human worth is thrashed out in this play, from the pitiful but apparently insignificant process of dying of one poor neglected woman, to the despair which led to alcoholism and finally the suicide of a talented young actor, who was not able to rise above failure, caused not so much by any fault of his own, but rather by the combination of circumstances.

Gorky never presided in a school room, but the lessons he taught through his writing reached far more pupils and re-

mained in their minds longer than any classroom teaching offered in those pre-revolution days.

Luka is the character in Lower Depths who represents reason and caution; he is an understanding individual, but he has steeled himself to accept conditions, to rise above personal misery, and do what he can to alleviate the sufferings of others without becoming closely enough involved to invite the scrutiny of the police. How many of his audiences must have squirmed as Gorky cleverly combined old admonitions to submission with a subtle needling in irony and sarcasm, that exposes the falseness in this kind of advice to the wretched!

In Act I the most pathetic episode is the calculated neglect by Klesch of his dying wife Anna. She has tuberculosis, cannot eat any of the poor food available, has terrible spasms of coughing, but apparently arouses no concern in the mind of her callous husband. The drunkard actor, once a man of distinction, feels pity for her and helps her to the door for a breath of fresh air. Later the old man Luka, in a gentlemanly way, helps her back again to her pile of rags, the only bed she knows. The motley crowd in the doss house jeer at him and make sarcastic and joking remarks. Says Luka, "You're making a joke of it, but how can you treat a human being like that? A human being, no matter what he is, is worth something."²⁹

In Act I again, Gorky takes the opportunity to state his concept of man in relationship to work, a favorite theme of discussion among communist philosophers. The conversation this

time revolves around the characters of the people who frequent the doss house - no-good drifters, beggars, thieves. Satin, a once happy young telegraph operator, reading philosophy in his spare time, delighted with his discovery that "everything is focused in MAN, everything exists for the sake of MAN,"³⁰ has been reduced to the role of a thief, is caught and jailed. Now in the play he appears as an embittered convict, freed from incarceration but unable to find work because of his prison record. The conversation is sparked by the question of a stolen watch, and the ways men have of getting money - begging, stealing or working:

Satin: Thieves are the best people in the world!

Klesch: Money comes easy to them. They don't have to work.

Satin: Money comes easy to many people, but few part with it easily. As for work, you have to make it pleasant for me and then I might work. Yes, I probably would. When work is a pleasure, life is a joy. When it is a duty, life is slavery."

Klesch is a scavenger, the only way he knows of earning a living, rough and crude, yet with his own concept of honour; Peppel, a drifter, challenges Klesch's work as a mean way to earn one's living:

Peppel: You know, looking at you, I can't see much point to all your scraping.

Klesch: What else can I do?

Peppel: Do nothing.

Klesch: How would I eat in that case?

Peppel: Other people manage somehow.

Klesch: You mean the ones here? Why they can't be called people! Scum, the golden squad, that's all they are. I'm a worker. I feel ashamed when I look at them. I've been working since I was a kid. Just wait till the wife dies. I've lived here six months, but it seems more like six years.

Peppel: Nobody here is any worse than you are. You're wrong to speak like that.

Klesch: No worse? These men without honour or conscience?

Peppel: (indifferently) What would they do with honour or conscience? You can't put them on your feet in place of boots. Honour and conscience are only good for those who have power, force...."31

So the Russian proletariat saw themselves, laughed and squirmed, and rose to claim their rights.

In Act IV Gorky summed up his estimate of man as a reality in the drunken words of Satin, the ex-convict. Klesch has stated that

"Human beings are the same every where. But at first you don't see it. Then when you've had a good look at them, it turns out they're all right.

Satin: When I'm drunk, I like everybody. Yes....Praying, is he?(referring to the Tatar's prayers at night). Well, that's fine. A man can believe or not believe, it's his own affair. A man's free. He pays for everything himself. For his belief, his disbelief, for love, for intelligence. That makes him free. Man, that's the truth. What is Man? It is not you nor I nor they. No, it's you, it's they, old man, Napoleon, Mahomet - all in one, (Outlines the figure of a man in the air) You understand? It is tremendous. In this are all the beginnings and all the ends. Everything is man, everything for man. Only man exists, the rest is the work of his hands and of his brain. Man. It's a magnificent word. It has a proud ring. Man. We have to respect man, not pity him, not demean him by pity. Respect him, that's what we have to do. Let's drink to man, Baron. It's good to feel oneself a man..."

This was the gospel of MAN that Gorky preached in his writings throughout his whole life. His wanderings brought him inevitably to the front ranks of the people's leaders, and his emotional enthusiasm was often dampened by the failure of others to be caught up in his own visions of what the depressed classes could become if released. He frequently objected to the easy way in which the intelligentsia for example would engage in conversation, or press superficial disputes, often engaging in long-drawn out discussions of communism, without really going beyond the circle of their own interests to take a very active part in the movement.³³ Marx and Engels' writings were being read by many of the progressive intellectuals, and the literature springing from the labour movements outside of Russia was familiar to them, but Gorky somehow felt an uneasiness about the sincerity of their interest in the common people. They considered him as one of them, because of his literary talents and prestige, and because of his knowledge on a wide range of topics, and his ability to discuss in their intellectual language subjects of vital interest to such people. For example a very impersonal discussion of the nature of man is to be found in Gorky's thesis on the Destruction of Personality, a part of a larger work on Culture.³⁴ His language is strangely like that of Marx. His analysis of the human individual in developing society is a parallel to the theories of Marx and Engels. It is clear and logical but not nearly so appealing and stimulating as the picture of man and his poten-

tialities to be seen in Lower Depths and in the best-known novels and tales of his mature years.

For a long time, Gorky hoped to find real champions among the intellectuals, even while he harboured doubts of achieving it; his prolonged conflict with Lenin over the principle of automatic suspicion of any educated persons, was an indication of his natural optimism wherever human personality was involved. He could always see possibilities. Lenin, himself a disillusioned intellectual firmly believed that only a straight, clean cut between the proletariat and all other classes could ever be effective in the struggle he saw ahead. It was with reluctance that Gorky found himself co-operating, for the sake of the people, with those who were prepared to cut off their contacts with old cultural and religious traditions. The conflict with Lenin was particularly hard for Gorky since he looked on Lenin as a personal friend and one whose ability and dedication to the cause he himself sponsored was unquestionable. Lenin was the chief critic of Gorky's interest in the old cultural traditions, an interest he probably retained from his childhood experiences at his grandmother's knee, an interest he had himself greatly broadened by travel and wide reading.

If Gorky was disappointed in his educated friends, he was also at times deeply pessimistic concerning the ability of the working class ever to rise above their age-old lethargy and their habit of non-resistance, their fear to try the unknown. Certainly they saw the heights to which they might rise, but

frequently it looked safer to accept their lot. The caution of the older people is well pictured in Mother but nowhere is it better exhibited than in the poetry of this versatile writer. One of his earlier poems The Song of the Falcon³⁵ portrays the wild longing for the blue sky above but beyond the reach of a falcon, lying upon the earth, torn and crushed, with no hope of ever soaring again through the sun-drenched air above. The smug comments of the snake, as he watched the dying falcon, reveal the difficulty of moving an individual from his accustomed way of life to visions of something better. The falcon determined to die if necessary trying to return to flight. Courageously and painfully he made the final attempt and though he lost his life, he had felt the exaltation once again of winging through the clear air above the rocky crags. The snake was finally moved to at least a little spirit of adventure by the nobility of the falcon, and determined to try to fly. He fell ignominiously to the abyss below the mountain peaks but survived the crash. He returned to his old way of life. Gorky might have drawn from his own story the significant thought that the snake did survive the defeat of his hopes of flying, and lived perhaps to try again some day. But Gorky was tired and discouraged in those early days of his youth when events could not move fast enough to suit him, and when frustrations could drive him to attempted suicide. The lesson he drew became a proverb among the people of Russia after the failure of their first attempt at revolt. "He who is born to crawl cannot fly," The

snake "curled up in a knot upon a stone, proud of himself."

Another phrase from this famous poet-journalist-educator of the masses was one which had a powerful emotional appeal (perhaps the only way that masses can be educated). It succeeded everywhere in arousing a reckless courage in the spirits of those who responded to it. In a flash of insight in the midst of depression, Gorky concluded his Song of the Falcon with a ring of admiration for the bravery of the wounded bird. As the snake curled up to slumber in security, hugging its earthly habitat, the mighty waves pounding on the sea-shore far below the lofty crag, crashed out a paean of praise for the proud eagle.

"The cliffs shook from their blows;
The sky trembled from their terrible songs:
We sing Praise to the madness of the brave!
The madness of the brave--
There is the wisdom of life!
Oh, the valiant falcon!

In the battle with enemies you shed blood. But the time shall come and the drops of your hot blood, like sparks, shall flare up in the darkness of life and many brave hearts will be kindled with the mad thirst for freedom and light! Though you are dead in the songs of the brave and strong-in-spirit you shall always be a living example, a proud call to freedom and to light. To the madness of the brave we sing a song!"

As the years went on it was the thrilling challenge of this last portion of the famous poem that caught the imagination of the rising people of Russia. Gorky's call to the spirit of "the madness of the brave" coupled with Marx's call in the last lines of the Manifesto "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" became catch phrases in the propaganda of university students and revolutionary journalists. The need of the people was desperate,

the pressure for social reform was overwhelming, and the place of education for change through press and theatre was firmly established by the successes of Maxim Gorky.

III. EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Gorky was not what is known in America as an expert in education. However throughout his whole career as a writer and propagandist he was definitely concerned with the re-making of man and the moulding of public opinion towards active participation in social reconstruction. American educational policies have tended to veer away with revulsion from the philosophical theories that picture education as the primary means of social reconstruction. In Europe on the other hand various ideologies have promoted the use of educational institutions for the deliberate indoctrination of the young, the best-known being Fascism and Communism. Whether it is right or wrong to use the schools for this purpose can be argued passionately on both sides in western democracies. The fact remains that the power of public opinion aroused in the press can focus strong political attention on aims, methods and results in the educational field.

There is little doubt that the criticism of industrial leaders made public in magazines and the daily press, along with the pleas of labour organizations for more realistic aims in the education of Canadian youth, helped to bring a more sympath-

etic attitude towards reform in education in Canada, as shown by the financing and building of many vocational High Schools across the country. In Gorky's day reform could not be brought about by pressure from electors. The only recourse was revolution, and the urgency of the opportunity during war years, made violence and bloodshed seem inevitable. After the 1917 Revolution it was even more necessary to win the approval of the whole population, for there was strong opposition economically and politically from the more conservative governments and their peoples: especially from those who had won a good measure of independence through democratic institutions. Gorky continued to be the mouthpiece of the new socialist government. Education by strict central organization and planned glorification of party principles would not only promote loyalty in the youth but be an insurance against the promulgation of different views. Gorky was closely associated with people in educational circles; Lenin himself, and his wife Krupskaya guided the educational policies of the U.S.S.R, and even after Lenin's death his widow held the position of Director of Public Education. Gorky's sympathetic interest in the details of Soviet education was marked by an unceasing effort to encourage universal education, and by his personal interest in the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents in Labour Communes and other reform projects such as the school established by Anton Makarenko, and in fact called the Gorky Colony.

It may well have been Gorky's association with intellectuals like Trotsky and his wide popularity in cultural activities such as the theatre, which made him suspect in the time of Stalin, who had ousted Trotsky from his place as second in line after Lenin. Education would have to hew to Stalin's line from that time on to that leader's death, and Gorky was too spontaneous to be trusted.

As the young Gorky had striven against almost insurmountable obstacles to educate himself, by reading, by travelling, and taking advantages as time went on of his association with cultured and educated friends, so in his writings he never ceased to urge the common people to go to school, and to improve themselves as best they could in whatever circumstances they might find themselves working.

The organization of the Red Army for example was much to be deplored because of the immense sums of money from public funds that had to be used for it, but since it seemed to be an unavoidable expense, Gorky thought it should be made an educative institution for the youth as well as a means of defense. In 1928, he wrote,

".....the working people have now thoroughly convinced themselves of the invincible strength of knowledge, and having understood this, they are now learning to work well and live in new, better ways. The schools, universities and workers' faculties are overflowing with healthy, intelligent youngsters. The Red Army also serves as a school for the cultural education of our youth, and the fighting men of the Red Army are well aware that they are not merely defenders of their country against an external enemy but also are and ought to be fighters for a new culture against the old internal enemies ignorance and stupidity, bad habits, harmful superstitions."³⁶

With such a man as Gorky using every art he knew in writing to encourage education, and to praise what achievements he saw taking place it is little wonder that the new socialist republics did forge ahead in cultural and educational improvements. The old traditional school teacher who thrashed pupils, and if they did not measure up to his expectations, advised them to leave school and do manual labour had no place in the new system of education. Everyone must learn to honour labour by working at labouring jobs as part of their education, but everyone too must take part in the other phases of cultural education, literature, art, dancing, sports and many recreational activities that could serve as a means of education as well.

Perhaps the greatest contribution to education that Gorky made was in the way of constant encouragement to keep trying, in his published conviction year after year that the working people had it in them to produce a new type of man, and that in point of fact, he could see that man emerging. Ten years after the Revolution, Gorky wrote,

"My joy and pride is the new Russian man, the builder of the new state.

To this small, but great man, who is to be found in all the remotest and wildest parts of the country, in factories and villages, and cast away in the steppe and the Siberian forests, in the Caucasian mountains and in the Northern tundra; to the man who is sometimes very lonely, working among people who still find it hard to understand him; to the servant of his state, who is modestly performing a job that seems to be insignificant, but whose historical significance is tremendous to him, I address my sincere greetings. Comrade, be steadfast in the knowledge that you are the most necessary man on earth! In doing your small job, you have really begun to create a new world."³⁷

FOOTNOTES

1. Guernsey, Bernard Guilbert (ed.) The Portable Russian Reader. Maxim Gorky. New York: The Viking Press, 1947. p. 320 ff.
2. Biographical Data on Gorky as in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1957, Vol. 10: Gorky, Maxim by Prince Dimitri Mirsky. p. 532, and in Gourfinkel, Nina. Maxim Gorky. London: Evergreen Books Ltd., 1960.
3. Gorky, Maxim. Childhood. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House 1950. Translated by Margaret Wettlin.
4. Guernsey, Portable Russian Reader. Ed. note on Gorky, p. 320: "...as an omnivorous reader he is equalled probably only by Samuel Johnson."
5. Gorky, Maxim. Life and Literature. London: Hutchinson International Authors, 1946. Translation by Edith Bone. Introduction by V.V. Mikhailovski, p. 9.
6. Marx, Karl. Capital and Manifesto of the Communist Party, contained in Great Books of the Modern World, vol. 50, R.M. Hutchins, (ed.) Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., Toronto: Wm. Benton, 1952.
7. Gorky, Maxim. Mother. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House. Translation by Margaret Wettlin.
8. Anton Pavlovich Chekhov (1860-1904), M.D., but better known as a famous Russian dramatist and story-writer.
9. Gorky, Maxim. Lower Depths, (Dec. 1902). London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1959. Translation by Moura Budberg.
10. The story of Gorky's differences of opinion with Lenin is a long one, and may be found in David Shub's Lenin, and Nina Gourfinkel's Gorky; Lenin never doubted Gorky's integrity but questioned his wisdom in political matters.
11. Gourfinkel, Nina, Gorky. London: Evergreen Books Ltd., 1960. Translation by Ann Feshbach.
12. Hare, Richard, Maxim Gorky. London: Oxford University Press, 1962 p. 149.
13. Gorky, Childhood. Chapters I and II, passim.
14. Ibid., p. 51.

15. Ibid., p. 178-196.
16. Ibid., p. 51.
17. Ibid., p. 52.
18. Ibid., p. 53 ff.
19. Ibid., p. 412 ff.
20. Gorky, Mother. p. 132.
21. Ibid., p. 44.
22. Ibid., pp. 68, 69.
23. Gourfinkel, Gorky. p. 59.
24. Hare, Maxim Gorky. p. 101.
25. Shub, David. Lenin. Toronto: New American Library of Canada, Ltd., 1963. Chapter 6 and 7, passim.
26. Gorky, Childhood, Lower Depths, Mother.
27. Gorky, Birth of a Man. (Guerney, Portable Russian Reader), p. 323.
28. Maxim Gorky, Twenty-six and One (Great Russian Short Stories, ed. Stephen Graham. London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1959), p. 713.
29. Gorky, Lower Depths. p. 61.
30. Ibid., p. 25.
31. Ibid., p. 48.
32. Ibid., p. 115.
33. Hare, Maxim Gorky. p. 123.
34. Gorky, Literature and Life. p. 112.
35. Gorky, Song of the Falcon, unpublished translation by Leonard Gads, Professor in Engineering, University of Alberta. Prepared for Radio Talk, "Great Literature", Edmonton, Feb. 19, 1954.
36. Gorky, Life and Literature. p. 156, 157.
37. Gourfinkel, Maxim Gorky. p. 176.

CHAPTER IV

ANTON S. MAKARENKO (1885-1939) SOVIET EDUCATOR

I. TEACHER AND SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR

Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko was born in the Ukraine on March 13, 1888, in Belopol'ye, in Kharkov-Gubernia, now the Sumy Oblast of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.¹ His father was a painter in the railroad workshops, and his mother seems to have been a good wife and an influential mother, a woman of strong character, whose love and sense of responsibility for her children made a profound impression on their lives. Though rarely referring in his books to his own experiences as a child, Makarenko in A Book for Parents, does indicate that as he met other so-called higher classes and saw their depravity, he could not help recalling the simple straight-forward honesty and methodical care and economy practised by his parents in their daily work.² High standards of honesty, respect and duty were set by the parents, and from the earliest age the children and elders were united by deep family affection.

Anton was a bright little boy and very easily learned to read at the age of five. He attended the usual elementary school, administered and financed largely by the railroad company. At twelve he was sent on to secondary school. His father was ambitious for his son and though there was little money for such things, no sacrifice seemed too great to provide an education

for the boy. Secondary school was almost an unheard-of thing for people of his class - boys usually were trained to follow the same trade as that of their father, and girls were all expected to marry at an early age.

The particular school chosen by the parents for Anton was attended mainly by the sons of shopkeepers and petty clerks, a class slightly above labourers and artisans such as the Makarenko's. The faith that the father had in his son's ability shines through the characteristic injunction given to Anton as he started his career in the upper school: "These schools were not made for the likes of us, but you just show them! ...Nothing but full marks, mind you!"³

Anton was no disappointment to his family. Throughout his whole school life and at Normal School he topped his classes. It was perhaps at the early age of twelve in an unfamiliar school group that he first began really to feel the tensions that existed between social classes. There he may well have balanced from his own experiences the superiority of intellect and productive work against the importance of higher economic position and social distinction. It may well have been the essential honesty of his home environment that led him to appreciate the truth which lay under the idea of equality - man's usefulness to society regardless of social status, physical strength, mental ability, business acumen or military power. In any case he had as background a family who were prepared to challenge the traditional scheme of life in its own community.

The first step was taken when Anton went to the secondary school.

After six years of hard work in this school he continued on to normal school, from which he received a teacher's certificate. He began his teaching career in the primary school for children of railroad employees, in his home settlement of Kryukov in what is now the Poltava Oblast, to which the railroad workshops had been moved. It is interesting to note that Makarenko's early experiences in the Communist Party began at the turn of the century, before he was twenty years old. He found his place as a competent teacher in a social system that was falling apart - the lower half of it seething with rebellious resentment against oppression and blatant injustices, the upper half desperately trying to hold on to its traditional power and economic security. He stood midway between them as an educated man. Although he took an active part in the Revolution of 1905-07, as did most of the teachers of that day, he does not seem to have incurred the bitter suspicion of the powers that were, since he was permitted to go on quietly with his teaching and later his further education. As a strong Party member during the 1917 Revolution, he was recognized as a reliable citizen and given a post of responsibility, yet he always managed to conduct his own personal behaviour in such a way that he survived later purges of the party, and continued to hold a place of honour in the minds of his countrymen throughout his whole life. In 1951 this memory was still intact,

for a Makarenko Memorial Museum was opened in this town of Kryukov, where he took his first teaching position.

Anton's first years in the field of education paralleled the Revolution of 1905-07, when the peasant and working classes, inexperienced as they were in politics, received a quick if very disappointing education in the reliability of royal promises. In processes of slow political and social changes people have opportunity to weigh advantages and disadvantages against each other, and to balance hopes and fears as they attempt to improve conditions. In three years of revolution their rebel leaders learned to face facts realistically, to deal swiftly and cleanly with situations as they arose, and to place values on human life as they had never tried to do in decades of peaceful development. The rebellion was concluded. The people thought they had won a victory, and weary of war, ill-fed, longing to get back to their homes where their help was sadly needed, they accepted the promises of the government for reform in agrarian and labour laws. The Tsar and his princely associates in government had no intention of sharing their power and profits with the representatives of the people. Leaders were rounded up by the police and imprisoned or exiled to Siberia, and little if any improvement could be found in the conditions of the working classes. Indeed legislation was more reactionary than ever, and workers in factories and other industries were under constant surveillance of guards to prevent the distribution of seditious literature or the congregating of groups of people for discussion.

Disillusionment was bitter, but with the characteristic patience of the downtrodden peoples of the plains, leaders and followers alike dug in their heels and prepared to wait for another opportunity. In the meantime they continued an unceasing campaign of subversive education of the masses. They infiltrated all classes of workers and schools with propaganda and encouragement to believe in the future. Their leaders allied themselves for strength and ideological training, with labour leaders in other countries.⁴ They courted the interest and support of the so-called intellectuals. The great Tolstoy, sympathizing with the oppressed people of a decadent feudal system, had been preaching submission and contentment. His beauty of literary style and his enchanting stories had brought him great popularity. He was the outstanding figure in Russian literature during the nineteenth century. But the awakening workers and the educated teachers and writers of the early twentieth century soon realized that there was something depressing rather than encouraging about Tolstoy's writing. Soon such writers as Chekhov and Gorky, portraying in theatre and story the real conditions of men, and portraying them as men with potentialities, became the popular writers of the day.⁵ There were increasing mutterings and rumblings under the surface of the peace that lasted from 1907 to 1914, on the Russian steppes. More people were travelling and looking at the western democracies. Many who could gather sufficient funds for the purpose were emigrating to the new world and sending back invitations to their

friends and relatives to join them. University students and other educated people were openly critical of the Romanoff autocracy. It looked as though only a full-scale war might draw these people and their government together in a common cause. The years of the first World War would tell how much the Tsar could count on the loyalty of his subjects!

In those years Makarenko was learning to look beyond his little school and village. He read avidly accounts of what went on in other parts of Europe and the western world. He assessed the values of political institutions and educational systems of other lands, familiarized himself with all the professional literature on newer methods in the field of instruction and educational psychology. Later under the Soviet system he was to become recognized as an authority in educational psychology.⁶ Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Montessori, Tolstoy and John Dewey contributed much to his growing belief that true education lay in relating school experiences to everyday needs, rather than the traditional programs based on classic literature and mathematics, to be found in most European secondary schools. He also learned to look on the happenings of his time as part of world history, and to appreciate what faced this large sprawling country of his, if it were ever to take its place as a powerful influence in world progress. Looking back on this period some years later he wrote: "The understanding of history came to us through the medium of Bolshevik education and revolutionary events.....The atmosphere in the railway school where

I taught was infinitely purer than in other places; working-class society, truly proletarian society, kept the school firmly in its hands..."⁷

Although springing from the working-class himself, this capable and knowledgeable young man well understood the intrigues and subversive activities of the many groups in his own section of the Ukraine. He saw deeply into the underlying motives of even individual family relationships. He understood when selfishness and greed were motivating forces, when vision and high ideals inspired men to great deeds, and equally when difficulties and confusion, mixed with fear and insecurity, drove leaders to evasion and empty promises, or even to acts of uncompromising intolerance and violence. In A Book for Parents and the Road to Life he described in detail many incidences of personal and family and public problems in which he revealed himself as a keen observer of human weaknesses and strengths. It was in these years that, along with many other men and women of high intellectual ability and real sincerity, Makarenko was ever more attracted to the theories of Karl Marx and their political implications.

Maxim Gorky played a very important part in the development of Makarenko's enthusiasm for, and devotion to the efforts of the Russian people to find meaning and purpose for their lives, amid all the confusion and upheaval which accompanied the Revolution. Gorky had become the spokesman for the proletariat both at home and abroad. It was he, who in the famine caused by a

series of terrible crop failures and the disruption of industry following the Revolution, by his writings and a personal appeal to Hoover, was able to swing the sympathy of the West to the impossible situation faced by the U.S.S.R., as it attempted to feed millions of homeless and unemployed people. Gorky soon became the recognized mouthpiece, after the Revolution, for the socialist philosophy of the new government. He had lost something of his popularity with the literary intelligentsia, as he devoted more and more of his time to long dissertations and essays on political theory, and novels based on the need for social reform. Makarenko too was moving away from the intellectuals in his educational theories, so the two men grew closer together in their visions of what might be done to build character in the new Soviet man.

To the end of his days, whatever might have been his misdemeanors in the eyes of the Party, at least to Makarenko Gorky remained a hero in the field of literature. After Gorky's autobiography was published with all its pictures of life as many workers knew it, a nostalgic glamour surrounded the name of that dynamic writer. Makarenko wrote, "Gorky taught us to feel history. He inspired us with wrath and passion, still greater optimism, and the great joy underlying his own words, 'Let the storm break in all its fury.'"⁸

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was no sudden upheaval, but rather the final crack in a bulge that had been steadily growing larger for decades. Anton, though actually satisfied

to teach quietly and without fame, was nonetheless well prepared for whatever might become his particular sphere of activity in the new Republic.

Makarenko had decided in 1914 at the age of 26 to enter the Poltava Pedagogical Institute where he could qualify to teach in a secondary school. He was soon recognized as one of the outstanding students, a wide reader, and a keen thinker. Surrounded by other students and teachers, he frequently found himself delivering lectures on educational problems. He enjoyed the contact with his teachers there, and remembered them with gratitude: "Many (teachers) became Bolsheviks, and many laid down their lives in the civil war. ...They were real human beings, and instilled in us the loftiest aspirations. It was they who helped me to understand the most important of pedagogical principles - to place exacting demands on the pupil, while preserving the utmost respect for his personality."⁹

He graduated from the Poltava Institute with a gold medal. He was appointed head of the elementary school at Kryukov, the same one at which he had begun his own formal education. He was principal there when the October Revolution of 1917 took place. With keen satisfaction that the time had come at last for the big change in society, he watched what took place before his eyes, "After the October Revolution, boundless prospects opened before us. We pedagogues were dazzled..."¹⁰

The Revolution symbolized a whole new world. Makarenko

began to read even more widely, in a ceaseless search for new ideas, new educational forms and methods, new pathways to explore in the meaning of the word 'education'. Political leaders were watching for outstanding citizens in all lines where re-organization would be needed. In September of 1920 Anton Makarenko was summoned by the Chief of the Department of Education of the Kharkov-Gubernia, a public official who found himself in a difficult position.¹¹ The city streets and rural highways were running wild with orphan boys and girls, seeking food and shelter and often a mistaken freedom from home discipline. Many were juvenile delinquents, committing offences ordinarily attributed to seasoned criminals. Not all by any means were children from the starvation areas, but many were teen-agers whose whole world had been turned topsy-turvy by the Revolution. Anything that existed in the way of order before 1917 must be wrong - any new idea, any evidence of freedom from old habits must be desirable. Thousands of people were on the move still, more or less aimlessly, looking for land to settle on, or a job to work at for their living. The desolation of civil war was everywhere, and famine stalked the land with all its grimness. There were no crops and other European countries were too absorbed in their own rehabilitation to pay attention to the desperate plight of the communist millions of east Europe, of whom in any case they heartily disapproved. Within the U.S.S.R. public officials blamed each other for bad management. But on one point they finally came to agreement - at

least the Department of Education should do something about providing education for the thousands of children on the loose, and fast becoming criminals. Surely this was a matter of education if anything was, and the police departments could supply the children - the jails were full of them!

The Chief was prepared to accept the responsibility as an official organizer, but of course no one could expect him to do the work of teaching himself! Few people were interested in what might well turn out to be a thankless job, and mean one's head, if things somehow went wrong. Heads fell fast those days! Failure was not acceptable to the Party, and punishment was swift. Looking around, the Chief saw Makarenko, young, keen, well-liked by his colleagues, quite pedagogically sound, a man of high integrity, and not at all ambitious for Party advancement - no cause for jealousy if he, the Chief should have to make some concessions to gain his consent. Just the man! if he could be persuaded to see the job as something he could do for his country, and he alone.

The interview was arranged. Makarenko described in The Road to Life how he was bullied into taking the job of organizing a training school for the worst group of young criminals yet gathered up by the police. Protestingly his lack of experience for this kind of work, he obtained the humourously grudging promise of the Chief that the department would not listen to any complaints about his methods or results, and that they would back him financially. In turn he promised to do his

best, but he would take no blame for failure if the plan did not succeed. He would use the 'lofty' principles of the Party to train the youngsters in the exercise of collective rights and try to make of them loyal and useful citizens.¹²

The Road to Life and Learning to Live (with sub-titles of A Pedagogical Poem and Flags on the Battlements) tell the thrilling story of his successes in his work among delinquents. This unobtrusive school principal and his colleagues and pupils come to life in the pages he has left - a drama in education and in the reclamation of human lives, in a situation where isolation, hostility, government neglect and the open opposition of neighbouring farmers might well have led to complete failure. His tributes to Gorky's influence on the boys in his charge are among the most moving episodes in his books.¹³ So great was the interest of the children that they called themselves the Gorky Colony after reading aloud to each other the story of Gorky's Childhood and Lower Depths, in which books these young ruffians recognized the hard and bitter life of one like themselves, who nevertheless had risen above it. Makarenko constantly fortified himself with the belief that in the meanest of his charges lay the potentialities of moral strength and beauty. He drew from Gorky's writings this challenge - that the test of education is the ability of educators to create a community in which potentials for human good can be fostered.¹⁴ The creation of such a community became his main objective, and resulted in fame for him as an educator because

of his success with the pupils in his system - a system whose slogan was "Education in, through, and for the collective."¹⁵

An interesting sidelight on the relationship between Gorky and Makarenko is to be found in the story that Makarenko had once submitted a manuscript to his idol, Gorky, in an effort to emulate him in the field of writing.¹⁶ But the latter had ruthlessly discouraged him from further attempts by sending the manuscript back with the sobering reply that he lacked the talent to become a writer. So complete was Anton's faith in Gorky's judgment that he abandoned his ambition, and concentrated on teaching as a vocation. However the urge to express himself remained and for years he wrote privately, describing his every experience with his large family of boys and girls, putting down in vivid detail the thoughts, doubts, plans, regrets, hopes, despairs and often deep humiliations which came to him as he lived out his life among problem children. The story of this exceptional man, not originally written for publication, reveals in every page of his books a sincere and dedicated individual, his own personal ambitions completely submerged, or perhaps rather identified with the lives of the members of his colony.

Maxim Gorky in later years changed his mind and became an ardent admirer of everything written by Makarenko. In 1935, when The Road to Life was published, Gorky called it one of the best examples of Soviet literature. Lenin's wife,¹⁷ Nadezhda K. Krupskaya, Vice-Commissar of Education in the U.S.S.R. and

a prolific writer on many phases of education was a friend of both Gorky and Makarenko. Her interest in the collectives and in productive labour as methods of teaching was reflected in Makarenko's work in the Dzerzhinsky Commune, and the success here as in the Gorky Colony was credited in educational circles to the collective method of motivating good work and self-discipline.

On February 1, 1939, the Soviet Government decorated Makarenko, in recognition of his service in the sphere of literature, with the Order of the Red Banner of Labour.¹⁸

Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko died very suddenly on April 1, 1939, while returning by train from a writers' rest home not far from Moscow. He had never spared himself and had consumed almost all of his leisure time for years in meticulous preparation of lectures, articles and books. He was active in public affairs in his own province, and seldom rested from the strenuous life he had chosen to lead as an educator.

Though his name has not travelled extensively beyond the borders of the Soviet States, there is scarcely a text-book on Russian education which does not include some or all of Makarenko's ideas and theories on bringing up children. As educational rapport increases between the U.S.S.R. and the West we find more references to Soviet achievements appearing in educational publications and studies in sociology. For example in the 1955 Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education in the U.S.A., Modern Philosophies and Education,

Cohen referred to Makarenko as "the great teacher of Marxist tradition, the creator of perhaps the most impressive demonstration of the Marxist view of human nature".¹⁹ Harrison E. Salisbury in a sociology text-book the shook-up generation (with an introduction by Eleanor Roosevelt) has compared New York's wild children with the young criminal bands of the Russian twenties, and suggested that Makarenko's methods are sound and can well be used in dealing with American teen-agers in revolt against society.²⁰

In the U.S.S.R. a new biography has appeared on the life and career of A.S. Makarenko by N.P. Neshinsky (Kiev, 1958, in Ukrainian). It is a very comprehensive work in five parts. A review of it is given in Soviet Education.²¹ Many letters, manuscripts, interviews with colleagues, reports from Government Archives, and excerpts from public utterances by such people as Krupskaya, have added greatly to the information about this educator and presented some corrections in statements formerly included in biographical notes in meager detail.

Makarenko has been as highly honored in his chosen field since his death as during his life-time. It was a tribute to his integrity and single-mindedness in promoting communist ideals without profit to himself or his associates, that the course he steered as a public official was acceptable to his superiors throughout his whole life as a teacher, though not entirely free of course from criticism. When Communism was establishing itself by harsh political reconstruction and radical social changes,

Makarenko was rebuilding individual broken lives by his personal devotion, and his deep understanding of human dignity - all this in the framework of the 'collective'.

II. EXPERIMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT

There is no question but that Makarenko's concept of the individual man and his relationship to society followed very closely the Marxian philosophy of man. The Road to Life, Learning to Live, and A Book for Parents, all emphasize in the stories of individual children and their problems, his pre-occupation with the importance of the environment in which people learn to live. As Marx's theories of society had a great deal of Hegelian philosophy in them, when he talked about social systems of the past holding within themselves the seeds of newer systems to come, so Makarenko saw in the pitifully independent lives of desperate children the roots of something fine which could blossom forth into worthwhile lives as adults. Nurture by someone who cared, encouragement for small successes, interesting and productive use of ability and time, togetherness in group activities - these were the methods that would change bad weeds into beautiful flowers.

The same principles, he thought, should apply to normal children in homes where the parents were concerned with the growth and training of their offspring before anything which was of personal interest to them. "In the old days," he wrote,²²

"in well-to-do families children used to be called 'angelic souls'! In our day it has been said that children are 'the flowers of life'." Makarenko went on to explain that this was a lovely metaphor but must not be carried too far or in a wrong direction. Children were not a 'luxury' bouquet to be admired and exclaimed at and shown as an exhibit to friends. This attitude contained the seeds of its own failure as a method of nurturing. Children were certainly not that kind of flowers. "Our children blossom on the living trunk of our life; they are not a bouquet, they are a wonderful apple orchard."

At this point in his book there is an excellent example of Makarenko's respect for the communist régime as a whole and its leaders. "Remember the words," he said, "of the great gardener, Comrade Stalin: 'People should be reared with care and attention as a gardener rears his chosen fruit-tree.'" It was the fruit that counted, not just the fragrance and range of colors, but the fruit, so spade, watering-can, ladder, must not be forgotten, nor Paris green for the caterpillars! Makarenko carried the metaphor through to its conclusion. Who educates the child - the parents or life? With great skill he compares the sun, rain, soil, winds and storms in the life of a fruit-tree to the environment of the growing child. But just as the gardener can contribute to the final product in the case of fruit by pruning, fertilizing, spraying, sheltering and harvesting at just the right time, so the older folks in society are responsible for the growing generation of young people. The parents have the

first responsibility in two ways. First they must live and think and talk and act as responsible members and citizens of the new society. This society, communism, held no place for selfishness or soft, foolish sentiment. Parents must be examples of the new citizens to their children - no pampering of themselves, no sign of laziness or complaining about work - always joy and purpose and organization in family life. Given this the second necessity was discipline in the family and as soon and as early as possible - self-discipline. Only in this way could children learn to be happy and useful citizens.

The U.S.S.R. educational authorities immediately after the Revolution distrusted the home environments so completely that, in the early stages of adjustment to the new régime, a policy of taking children from their parents and putting them in boarding schools where only the desired philosophy of life would influence them, was implemented. Makarenko thought this policy was a good one only where the parents were completely unfit to handle their children. Parent training was a must! His Book for Parents was aimed to aid parents in what he considered to be the most urgent and the most responsible task facing the whole adult society. His deep conviction about this is summed up in the words, "In our society there must be no childhood catastrophes, no failures, no percentage, not even a hundredth per cent of defective goods".²³

For Makarenko, this western proverb undoubtedly summed up

his stress on education in the making of Soviet citizens - 'the child is father of the man'!

Given a group of rebellious outcasts from society, this teacher realized that he was breaking ground in educational work as he attempted to do for them what he believed a good family environment should accomplish for other children. He knew very well however that a poor family situation could ruin the character of any child, and that many parents in the new social system were not prepared for the important task of teaching. After the publication of Learning to Live Makarenko was invited to go to Leningrad to discuss the book with a group of readers in the S.M. Kirov Palace of Culture. A report of this occasion is included in an addenda to the book itself. He defended his aim in writing the book which was to show how all children and especially these in the Dzerzhinsky Commune were first and foremost citizens of their country and therefore worthy of the best it could offer them in training and education. He never considered them as moral defectives, as some called them, but rather as victims of society. During that evening he undertook to answer some questions which had been given him. One question was where would he like to work? At this time he had retired from active teaching and was devoting his whole time to writing educational treatises. However he answered that he "would like to work in a normal school, so-called. Children with families are a thousand times more difficult to teach than streetwaifs. The waifs had nobody else but me while school children always

have a father and mother behind them. For that reason I'd very much like to teach normal children."²⁴

A challenge had always spurred him on, as had the words of the Chief of the Education department in those hours of decision when he had first been offered the position of teaching young criminals. "The main thing isn't just a colony for juvenile delinquents but - you know! - er...Social re-education. We've got to create the new man, you know - our sort of man. That's your job! Anyhow, we've all got to learn, and you'll learn."²⁵

This was his starting point - the creation of a community of young people in which potentials for human good could be systematically fostered. The task set him and the inspired ideas of his hero Gorky put him on the experimental track he was to follow all his life. In community life, he was certain, lay the answer to his problem. With this beginning, he felt confident that success was possible. In spite of what looked to be almost insurmountable obstacles he persisted stubbornly in his idea of developing a spirit of co-operation, where none had existed in those warped lives.

In the long winter evenings, wrapped in rags and huddled around the wood-burning stove, the children would listen entranced while their Director read aloud, chapter after chapter, from Gorky's books, occasionally handing the book over to one of the boys, often Zadarov, an excellent reader.²⁶ They found the stories fascinating - depicting the life of a fellow-

sufferer in My Childhood and Lower Depths - the bitter and difficult childhood of an orphan like themselves. They began to call themselves the Gorky children.

Makarenko and the students composed a letter and sent it to Sorrento, Italy, where Gorky had gone for his health. The popular newspaper man was more than flattered by the naming of the colony after him, and by the admiration expressed in the letter. Besides giving advice to Makarenko he became also the shining light and example for many of the pupils. He kept in correspondence with the colony, encouraging the Director, and sending occasional letters to the pupils. He made at least one personal visit after his return from abroad in 1928. And Makarenko needed all the encouragement he could get in that first year or two! His staff frequently threatened to resign,²⁷ and he was in continual conflict with complaining neighbours.

The boys had become maliciously mischievous; property and even lives were endangered by some of their pranks. Whether it was the successful though humiliating recourse of the Director to corporal punishment, or the idea of putting the lads to hard manual labour as forest guards, which effected a gradual change in attitude, or whether it was a new feeling of security and a growing respect, for the hard-pressed school-master whose patience was phenomenal, perhaps a combination of all these factors, slowly a change did take place. They did not become responsible citizens over night, and they had many lapses from good behaviour, but once such boys as Zadarov were won over,

there began to develop a definite spirit of loyalty to their institution, their teachers, themselves as a group, and of course eventually to the 'Party'. The theory of communism was taking root in this particular 'collective'.

What was Makarenko's concept of Man? He was firmly convinced that Marx's philosophy was the only one for the new society. Man as an individual could only experience rewarding fulfilment in the orientation of a communist social order. Human nature could be made over so that the good of all would be the concern of each one. Strict measures of discipline were required for children as well as adults until the new nature would be universal. Perhaps it was an extension of his psychological beliefs along this line that enabled Makarenko to accept the Soviet leaders with respect and admiration even in what appeared to western eyes to be the acme of cruelty in the purging, exiling and liquidation of political offenders. As Marx had pointed out many times the failure of society to provide fulfilment for every man was the underlying cause of all social evils. Unemployment, poverty, frustration, unjust laws, ignorance and uncurbed exploitation of the masses could all be laid at the door of society as a whole and its refusal to control its members. Therefore in a new society aimed at complete reform, the community as a whole, that is the state, must be responsible for the welfare of its citizens. The citizens in turn as individuals must be prepared to co-operate fully in bringing this about. They must accept the good of the

state as being of more urgent importance than their own particular interests, but this should not be difficult for the new man, since he would realize that his interests would have a better chance of realization if the state could count on absolute support. With Marx, Makarenko believed that education combined with productive work was the right and privilege of every individual. Without this and all it could lead to in the field of recreation, self-respect and economic security, no man or group of men could feel that they belonged anywhere. To be able to live comfortably but not luxuriously, to work at congenial labour, but not for all of one's waking hours, to enjoy hobbies, but not become parasites, to be able to satisfy one's desires and aspirations but never to excess or the disadvantage of others, these were his ideas of what an ideal life might be.

Makarenko, again following Marx, saw no use in religion for the new man. He was intensely humanistic - man was the centre and chief end of all activity. On his own self-discipline in working within a collective situation, depended his chance of a place in society. On planned moral growth, education in the collective under the guidance of well-trained and conscientious teachers, would succeed in the final production of a good Soviet citizen. On the acceptance of teaching as a practical science, depending not on tests and measurements, but on intuition and observation, lay the possibility of real achievement in the realm of education. Makarenko's sense of the 'mean' was his way of seeing the child's up-bringing as a gracious way of living.

Blind affection and harsh oppression were equally to be avoided, yet the child should feel the firmness of reasonable authority. Discipline was preferable to mere obedience, since it could become self-discipline, conscious of utility and meaning. Organization in communities or collectives, such as the family or the school, serves productive purposes and at the same time gives form and style to human life. Lilge summarized the meaning of education for living as Makarenko saw it, "To educate people is to teach them to live in community, and such a life is a balance of learning, productive work, self-government, and group ceremonial."²⁸

III. EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The results of Makarenko's experiments with juvenile delinquents and the interest aroused throughout educational circles of the Soviet Union made his methods and ideas about teaching and raising children of great interest to educators and parents not only while he was living and demonstrating his work, but ever since his death in 1939. If the leading role in educational work must always be the collective, as Makarenko insisted, then academic studies must be incidental, while manual labour and cultural activities must go hand in hand with everyday needs and responses. It is interesting to note that while Makarenko was developing as a teacher and experimenting as an administrator in the Ukraine, so the theories of Dewey in pro-

gressive education were becoming popular in the United States and Canada. Perhaps these two educators in their own spheres were but the outward evidence of the new spirit of the twentieth century where man's worth and the dignity of universal citizenship has put the individual in a position of greater importance than any traditional social status or economic classification could ever do. The U.S.S.R. through its central Commissariat of Public Education could control the policies and methods in educational practices, because of the authority vested in it by the Unions themselves. Such officials as Krupskaya issued pamphlet after pamphlet on educational topics, and these were sent out to all the Republics of the Union. The Relationship of Education and Productive Labour and The Worker's Active Participation in the Development of Public Education and many others by Krupskaya as well as other Commissars were compulsory reading for all pedagogues and especially administrators. In America on the other hand, democratic principles demand the right of individuals and groups to choose the policies and general methods of training the young. States and provinces are educationally autonomous, and even within them there may be a number of different educational theories in actual practice. Thus the preparation of the future citizen is under no rigid control, and conflicts between different groups as to educational aims and methods of teaching are very common. One wonders if in the near future a greater promotion of democratic ideals in

school curricula may not be a more effective method of preserving democracy than trusting to propaganda against other ideologies.

As was suggested in the shook-up generation by Salisbury, Makarenko's theories about the effectiveness of the 'collective' as a means of directing educational efforts on behalf of wayward teen-agers could be easily applied to the problems facing the educational and police authorities in all the large cities of the North American continent. In this area too there has been considerable experimentation in America in the use of 'group dynamics' to obtain the co-operation of young people who do not seem to have personal motivation. Here again there is so much dependence on charts, graphs and psychological analyses, so much faith in the group per se achieving something, that the role of the leader or teacher is minimized. It has been difficult to keep a middle course between authoritarianism and complete group freedom. Perhaps Makarenko's theory of 'the mean' or middle course put into operation in a group situation, would be worth studying in the western teaching institutions. His case histories in all three of the books mentioned above are strangely reminiscent in essential points of the problems all teachers face with students and parents. Certainly these books should be in any teacher's library.

In his schools Makarenko found youth organizations most helpful in promoting co-operation, self-government, and motivation for improvement in character. The leader learned from his experiences and the boys and girls for their part learned that

personal loyalty (formerly 'honour among thieves') must be transferred into loyalty to the good of the collective. Bullying, Jew-baiting, sex problems all had to be met and dealt with and it was more easily done in the collective than otherwise. The boys and girls who were earning some remuneration for their labour felt more responsible and were more amenable to the displeasure of their fellows than to any punishment meted out by authority. Many of these so-called hopeless students passed the entrance examinations for higher schools with flying colors. During his sixteen years of working among these social degenerates, Makarenko was mainly responsible for the training of some three thousand useful and patriotic citizens; many became engineers, officers in the Soviet Army, doctors, teachers, actors, white-collar workers as well as skilled mechanics in many fields, taking their places as respected members of their communities.

Perhaps Makarenko's concept of the individual man can best be summed up by describing him as he reveals himself all unintentionally in his books - an individual, dedicated to the task his country had demanded of him, thoroughly enjoying his work, loving devotedly all his colleagues, and the pupils entrusted to him. He was ambitious only for the self-realization of each member within the framework of the collective - completely honest with himself and others, unselfish in his motives, filled with a buoyant life and energy which he ungrudgingly expended to the last ounce in the service of his country.

This was indeed the new man, referred to by the Gubernia

official long years before, the man of whom Marx wrote philosophically, and whom Gorky recognized in embryo everywhere in the awakening patriots of the Revolution, and of whom Makarenko himself dreamed as he planned for the redemption of his charges. Humanly affectionate towards his fellowmen, casting away the chains which bound him to those elements of the old tradition which would hold him back, but conscientiously weighing and appraising those ideas, both old and new, which could contribute freshness and stimulus to his work, he forged steadily ahead to that ideal he had set for his pupils. Loyally and patiently he applied himself to growth and development within the system which he and his countrymen hoped would bring about a new society. Like Ernest in Hawthorne's Great Stone Face, he never recognized himself as the New Man of the U.S.S.R.

FOOTNOTES

1. Shabad, Theodore, geography of the USSR. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. p. 437.
2. Makarenko, Anton S., A Book for Parents. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954. p. 27.
3. Makarenko, Anton S., The Road to Life. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955. Translation by Ivy and Tatiana Litvinoff. p. 9.
4. Shub, David, Lenin. Toronto: New American Library of Canada, Ltd., 1963. Chapters 6, 7, passim.
5. Gorky, Lower Depths, Mother.
6. Bowen, James, Soviet Education. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962. p.4.

7. Makarenko, Road to Life. Vol. I, p. 10.
8. Ibid., p. 10.
9. Ibid., p. 11.
10. Ibid., p. 11.
11. Ibid., p. 23.
12. Ibid., p. 27.
13. Ibid., p. 156, 157
14. Lilge, Frederic, Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958. p.10.
15. Ibid., p. 2.
16. Ibid., p. 9, 10.
17. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XIII, p. 506,507.
18. Makarenko, Road to Life, p. 18.
19. Cohen, Robert S. "On the Marxist Philosophy of Education" in Modern Philosophies and Education. Fifty-fourth Year-book of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. p.207, 208
20. Salisbury, Harrison E., the shook-up generation. New York: Fawcett World Library, 1958. p. 100.
21. Soviet Education, Vol. I, No. 8, 1958,59.
22. Makarenko, Book for Parents, p. 19.
23. Ibid., p. 9.
24. Makarenko, A.S., Learning to Live. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953. p. 648.
25. Makarenko, Road to Life. p. 27.
26. Ibid., p. 156-159.
27. Ibid., p. 35-41.
28. Lilge, Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko. p.3.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

It is one hundred and sixteen years since Marx and Engels produced the Manifesto of the Communist Party, prophesying a future Utopia based on a classless society. It is sixty years since Gorky presented to the world in his play Lower Depths, a picture of a degraded society in which the essential worth of the individual shone forth in rough but shrewd comments on life. It is forty-six years since the Bolshevik Revolution ushered in an era in which the theories of Karl Marx were to be given the opportunity of demonstrating their practicality in social reconstruction.

In studying the life and work of Maxim Gorky it has been possible to see how the dissemination of Marxist ideas by a gifted and popular author could contribute to the spirit of the whole revolutionary movement. By completing the study with the life and work of Anton Makarenko, a glimpse has been given through this one field of education, of the implementing of Marx's philosophy in the orientation of a state established for that purpose.

Did the communist concept of the individual man undergo modification or distortion in the century which followed the Manifesto?

1. A DEVELOPING CONCEPT OF THE INDIVIDUAL MAN

A study of the works of the three men considered in this thesis leads one to the conclusion that basically the concept of the individual man and his proper place in society as viewed by Marx remained little changed throughout the years of political upheavals which eventually resulted in the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the ensuing years of experiment in internal government and international relationships. Those who adopted Communism took the outlined sketch of the potential 'man of the future' as Marx saw him, and filled it in with characteristic planes, high-lights and shadows according to the situation in which they found themselves.

Marx dreamed of Man set free from capitalist exploitation - free to achieve personal fulfilment in a society dominated by a spirit of brotherhood. To Marx the only important man was the workingman - no other had any rights. At the point where one man's fulfilment encroached on that of others, the communist state, in all integrity of purpose, would step in and act for the good of all. There would be no question of sacrifice of the rights of any individual citizens, for each one would know that his own best interests would be realized in the success of the new order. No higher classes of society could ever exploit him, and no lower classes could ever reproach him for neglect or callous indifference to their pitiful lot. The classless society in effect would be completely freed of racial, political, econ-

omic and religious prejudices and inequalities. A completely communistic social order throughout the whole world seemed to Marx the only way to bring true fulfilment to each and every human being. Only in such a world could Man, all men, feel truly at home and learn to live with a sense of purpose, responsibility and security.

To Gorky, himself a product of the most appalling conditions of ignorance and poverty, Marx's theories appeared to be a lifeline of hope for the oppressed peoples of all the world, and especially for the beloved folk of his own nation. With all their crudities and weaknesses Gorky saw in each one the man he might become. Gorky's love of humanity, his skill in lending color and vitality to his prophesies of the future, and his keen sense of humour enabled him to see further than just the workingmen of the world. His plays and novels included very often characters from other classes, and he numbered among his friends many thoughtful people of all estates and nationalities. He was not at all convinced that the achievements of the world were all bad. So his Marxist viewpoint was tempered with greater kindness than Marx himself had shown, even while he fully supported the communist theories politically.

Gorky frankly argued out his differences of opinion with Lenin, and was one of a number of well-known revolutionaries who defected from the Bolshevik section of the Russian labour leaders, though all were friends and admirers of Lenin. However true to his belief in co-operation for the good of all, Gorky

later made his peace with Lenin so that he could participate in the people's big move towards emancipation. Even Lenin had been obliged to yield to expediency when he gave up his idea of a world revolution for the time being, and concentrated on the opportunity which presented itself during World War II, to try out Communism within the boundaries of individual states. There would be many compromises before the new society was an accomplished fact!

The idea of the importance of each individual person as a member of the whole was maintained in theory, but it took a strange and tortuous path in the early days of the U.S.S.R. Security and responsibility were only for those individuals who became whole-hearted enthusiasts for the new order, and who worked assiduously for the Communist Party. The career and even the life of any other would be forfeit to the state to protect the interests of society as a whole. Thus in a round-about way the individual did appear to have lost his identity. Gorky himself, though a popular exponent of human worth, dropped into obscurity under the Stalin régime. Perhaps he could not countenance and would not publicly approve the deeds of this juggernaut of power which Stalin's organization had become. For a time it seemed that the concept of man as an intrinsically worthy being must have been lost in the fear of the political leaders that Communism might not survive the tensions within the U.S.S.R. and the active hostility of outside nations.

For the purpose of this study the life and work of Makarenko point up very vividly the way in which educators, appointed to specific tasks, carried on their work. Determined to succeed in a difficult assignment, Makarenko and his colleagues worked against all odds in an unassuming way to carry out to the best of their ability the task they had been given. Only in recent years has the name of Makarenko become known in educational circles in the West, mainly since the way has been opened for travellers and research teams from western universities to visit the USSR. His experience teaching in regular schools as a young man, later in the colonies of delinquents, and often as a counsellor in family problems, has all been recorded in the three books studied in this thesis.

If ever anyone needed a firm belief in the essential goodness and worth of every human being it was Makarenko. Only his sympathetic out-going love for those waifs entrusted to him enabled him to see beneath the surface and recognize the potential for leadership in some, for home-making in others, for scholarship or technical skill in still others. No one was too degraded, selfish or violently hostile to be worth a try at regeneration. These were Soviet citizens in the making, and from the most unlikely material. Makarenko, with Gorky as friend and advisor, and the moral support (if not too much financial backing at first) of government officials, was able to see the new Soviet man come into existence under his own guidance. He himself protested many times that the students had it in them all the time and brought

about the change themselves. One suspects that the quiet day-by-day influence of their Director, and his faith in them had a great deal to do with the success of his students. He never forgot the importance of developing high moral character along with good health and an emphasis on work as an necessary part of living. Everything he taught was undergirded with Marxist principles, and the idea of collective activities as a means of education was as nearly perfected in one man's teaching career as it was possible to do.

It can be said that Marxist ideas about the nature of the individual's relationship to society had not changed. It was easier to keep this phase of Marxist philosophy uppermost in the educational field than in the political. The primary aim of education was to produce a free man, able to develop his capacities, and achieve his goals as far as he could without interfering with the same freedom of his fellow-men. As the new order of society fought for survival, and made many enemies in the outside world, Makarenko within the sphere of his activity lived and taught a concept of Man, inherent in the dreams of Marx, and by no means unknown in the philosophy underlying most of the world's great religions.

II. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND WORLD PEACE.

All USSR pupils are taught the basic principles of Marxism, with its vision of a world-wide order, and the emancipation of workers from exploitation in every part of the globe. Every USSR citizen is a potential missionary. When persons defect from east of the Iron Curtain, while they may be annoyed and disillusioned by the rigid government of the Communist régime, and they may expect to find greater freedom and independence in democratic lands of their choice, when they find that that freedom and independence do not always carry with them steady employment and security; such people may become the nucleus of discontent and agitation against authorities in their adopted land. When this happens it behooves educational authorities to be prepared to accept the responsibility for democratic indoctrination, for up-grading and re-training for vocation, and for the provision of adequate libraries and cultural activities.

So successful has been the system of education outlined by the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party in March, 1919 in wiping out illiteracy and producing a wealth of scientific experts that other countries are beginning to send educators to the member countries of the USSR to assess the values and achievements of Soviet education.

In the West there is a widespread feeling that USSR policies are anti-United Nations. This cannot be substantiated in public statements or educational policies within the Communist block.

There are are many organizations established expressly for the promotion of world peace, most of them dating since the second world war. A United Nations Organization was founded in the USSR in 1956 and admitted to the World Federation of United Nations Associations. Youth organizations for the promotion of Unesco and World Health Organization are widespread, and information about the work of the United Nations in under-privileged lands is consistently disseminated. To avoid the errors of the past, world peace can only be promoted if delegates to the United Nations Conferences know they can count on the support of their respective countries. It would therefore seem that a fairly comprehensive education in the achievements and objectives of the United Nations and its sub-committees should be an integral part of the general curriculum of all systems of education.

In the Western democracies there is a strong body of opinion which distrusts the ability of legislation to make people do or think what the law says they should. Other methods must be used to build into the thinking of future generations that world peace is a pre-requisite for the survival of the human race. Nations must learn to live together without conquest and the exploitation of natural resources of smaller countries. Threats of war can be hurled across the air in a matter of seconds in times of stress. Surely the same means of communication could be used to foster friendship. As the prosperous nations of people offer food, clothing and technical

assistance to the have-not nations, it should not be necessary at the same time to be spending billions of dollars on nuclear arms, or to be flaunting before the world by press and radio the results of deep-seated racial prejudice within their own borders.

Only education for world citizenship built into every system is likely in time to produce young people and adults whose mature philosophy of life includes an out-going love for all humanity, and a personal concern that no other person anywhere in the world should suffer for lack of food and opportunity to earn a living. This attitude toward life is not the prerogative of communists! But the western world will have to work harder than they have to develop it in the minds of all their citizens.

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APPENDIX I

GEOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC DIVISIONS OF THE U.S.S.R.

The following information about the population statistics was taken from Education in the USSR, a publicity pamphlet of Moscow Intourist Travel Agency, 1962. The notes on the administration areas, and public education in the USSR have been condensed from the USSR Handbook, 1957, and Geography of the USSR, a regional survey.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) is composed of many nationalities. Eleven important ethnic groups account for more than one hundred separate peoples. The largest of these ethnic groups, the Eastern Slavs totals about three-fourths of the USSR population - Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians. The official prewar estimate of the total USSR population was 193,000,000. By 1950, the estimate was 201,000,000. Reports from the USSR Central Statistical Administration state that the total population in the 1959 Census had reached 208.8 millions. In 1897, 74% of the population could neither read nor write. This had been reduced to 18.8% by 1939. For the age group between 9 and 49, the 1897 Census returns showed only 26.3% could read - the 1959 Census shows the percentage to be 98.5. Respective percentages for women were 13.7 and 97.8, indicating a parallel interest in and provision for the education of women and men.

ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

Prior to the 1917 Revolution the administrative-territorial divisions of what was then known as Russia followed the same pattern as that initiated in 1708 by Peter the Great, when the first eight 'Guberniyas' were formed based on geographical location. These were added to in the following century, but still without much regard for political or economic planning. After the Revolution of 1917, governing units were first organized on a national autonomous basis, but at the beginning retaining the term Guberniya (so Makarenko re-

ferred to the Chief of the Gubernia Department of Public Education). By 1930 the last of the guberniyas had been abolished. The Union Republics now form the first-order units, a voluntary union of nations who reserve the right of free secession. As of the beginning of 1957 the USSR was composed of 15 Union Republics and 18 Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics. These Republics in turn are administered in economic divisions generally known as Oblasts and in a few cases Krays. The local organs of state power in territories, regions, areas, districts, cities and rural localities are known as the Soviets of the Working People's Deputies. These are elected for a term of two years in accordance with the representation quotas established by the Constitutions of the Union Republics. Members of all Soviets are elected by the voters on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

EXAMPLES OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

1. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
2. Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.
Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.
3. Khar'kov Oblast, Poltava Oblast, (Ukraine) and Gorkiy Oblast (Russia)

PUBLIC EDUCATION

There are no private educational institutions in the USSR. Most educational establishments are run by the state and the instruction is free; a small number are operated by public organizations (The Communist Party, Trade Unions, Organizations for Peace and International Co-operation, Scientific Societies, Professional organizations of writers, architects, composers, actors, journalists, and sports and other cultural societies). Every nationality in the USSR has the opportunity of studying in the native tongue.

The USSR has a uniform system of educational and training establishments for all its component Republics, and it is administered like other departments as indicated above.

APPENDIX II

THE COLLECTIVE

(Condensed from Lilge-Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko)

During the first years of the new social order in the countries of Eastern Europe, the revulsion of feeling against any traditional authority ran high. The institution of the family and its control over the activities of wife and children was one of the first to suffer disintegration. Part of the cause for the problem of juvenile delinquency was unquestionably the loss of restraint within the family. Children were frequently abandoned and neglected, and the emancipation of women and sexual freedom were advanced by liberal divorce laws. This emancipatory policy was reversed in the 1930's. All children above the age of twelve were made subject to the provisions of the criminal code. Even after the economic conditions of the early twenty's had improved and the hordes of homeless children had been reduced by bringing them into national boarding schools at the state expense, the jails were still full of criminal children. It was among these that Makarenko did his main work in creative educational policy.

The Gorky Colony did not begin as a well-designed project. No one knew how to make juvenile delinquents into productive, self-respecting members of society. Starting from what appeared at first to be a den of thieves and cutthroats, after nearly three years of arduous labour Makarenko felt that he had found a type of social organization which could accomplish his ends. "In obedience to some unconscious pedagogical instinct" he began to introduce military gymnastics, routine, and discipline into the colony. The boys responded with enthusiasm, and their general attitude and bearing underwent a marked change for the better. All colonists were organized into work detachments with a commander in charge. These

commanders formed a "council of commanders" which Makarenko convened when occasion demanded. From being an advisory council they soon became an executive council.

Socialist competition between the work detachments in shops and fields created a sense of achievement, pride, and group solidarity. Self-government meant power with responsibility. As the colony prospered and began to function smoothly, the colonists deemed it an honor to belong, and dreaded expulsion as the worst punishment. It is true that Makarenko acted dictatorially in getting the 'collective' established, but he had little choice, considering the students he had to work with. However as soon as it was practicable he relinquished his authority in favour of collective self-government by the colony soviet. As Director he was responsible to government officials above him, so he did retain a certain amount of restrictive power. Within the limits imposed by Makarenko's promptings and vetos (used sparingly) this student collective exercised effective self-government such as the soviets on the various levels of Russian political life. But generally speaking the colony was free from 'boss' rule. Commanders enjoyed no privileges and were never exempt from work. At first they were appointed by Makarenko, on the basis of known ability or reliability, but were later elected by the colonists themselves. Motivation for work and joy in achievement as well as spontaneous creativity of ideas began to mark the members of this colony.

While many pedagogues criticised the military character of the colony as being too regimented and accused Makarenko of denying his principles of teaching based on the idea of human dignity, others impressed with the success of the organization, copied his tactics, and adapted them to their own situation. The 'Collective' system became popular, though not always successful in higher education.

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